CIIL Occasional Monographs Series—46

LANGUAGE EDUCATION AND CULTURE

D. P. Pattanayak

CENTRAL INSTITUTE OF INDIAN LANGUAGES
Manasagangotri, Mysore-570 006

D.1

To
Vidyanivasji
with fond regards
Debi Prasad Pattanayak
5/11/91

LANGUAGE, EDUCATION
AND
CULTURE

CENTRAL INSTITUTE OF INDIAN LANGUAGES
OCCASIONAL MONOGRAPHS SERIES—46

Editor
M. S. THIRUMALAI

Production
H. L. N. BHARATI

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D. P. PATTANAYAK

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First published : *May 1991*
Vaisakha 1913

© *Central Institute of Indian Languages, 1991*

Price Rs. 58-00

Published at the Central Institute of Indian Languages,
Manasagangotri, Mysore-570 006 by Dr. E. Annamalai,
Director, and printed at the CIIL Press, Mysore-570 006
by Mr. S. B. Biswas, Manager.

FOREWORD

The Central Institute of Indian Languages was set up on 17th July 1969 with a view to assisting and co-ordinating the development of Indian languages. The Institute is charged with the responsibility of serving as a nucleus to bring together all the research and literary output from the various linguistic streams to a common head and narrowing the gap between basic research and developmental research in the field of languages and linguistics in India.

The Institute also runs seven Regional Language Centres in the various linguistic regions of the country to help meet the demand for trained teachers to implement the three-language formula.

The publications of the Institute include materials produced by the members of the staff of the Central Institute of Indian Languages and its Regional Language Centres and associated scholars from universities and institutions both Indian and foreign.

The present volume, *Language, Education and Culture*, which is a collection of papers by Dr. D. P. Pattanayak, the former Director of the Institute, consists of 33 articles, and discusses various aspects and problems of language, education and culture in a multilingual country like India. If this book helps in developing a greater understanding of the development and use of language in education and culture in the country, our efforts would be amply rewarded.

A. K. SRIVASTAVA
Director-in-charge

PREFACE

Man and language are coterminous concepts. Each necessitates the other for its existence, survival and development. From the axis of language, man is defined as 'speech creature', 'homo-loquens', or 'an animal who talks'. Looking from the stand-point of man, language is viewed as primordial mode and model for human cognition and communication. The centrality of intra-organic cognition and the vitality of inter-organic communication converge in man to transform his biological entity into socio-cultural existence. Man does not live by himself alone nor does his cognitive growth free from inter-organic facets of life. Man is thus, simultaneously both—a person and a persona, a biological entity and socio-cultural reality and an organism that controlls the behaviour of some other organism and object and in the process gets shaped by them. In short, man is a sign-producer as well as a product of the process of sign-production.

This relationship between man and language on the one hand and language and society on the other hand has been the central concern for a section of scholars. Such scholars tried to examine what kind of role a language plays in transforming the 'natural' (biological) being of-human existence into the 'cultural' being of human existence. They also tried to explore the functionality of a language in forming a nexus between man's identity as a 'self' and his 'social identity'. In work of such scholars the 'form' of a language is transcended by the concept of 'function', linguistic rules by communicative roles, and sign-relations of various kinds by signification processes.

Professor Pattanayak's work in the past and in this collection of papers particularly, emphasizes the vitality and relevance of such an approach. Not only do these articles explicate the relationship between language man, society and culture but also call for a new perspective required to explain the multilingual and pluricultural reality of the Third World Countries. Not only he goes deep in analysing the fundamental difference between the ethos of multilingualism. Characteristics of the developing countries of the Third World and the ethos of dominant monolingualism characterizing the developed world, but also implicitily suggests that the scholars of the Third World should develop their own theory of language and their own perspective of linguistics as a dicipline. His writings are suggestive of the fact that 'science', specifically 'human sciences', is not free of 'ideology'. Linguistics is also an ideology-impregnated discipline and, hence, scholars working in the area of science of language should develop the discipline in form of 'critical linguistics'. Critical Linguistics builds the perspective to the study of language from within. It is centred around the ethos that comes into being from within the core of reality. It rejects the process of theory-building that is situation-neutral or derivative of some other theories or super-imposed from above. For example, most of the current theories concerning the relationship between language and society are based on the experience drawn from the dominant monolingual situation. Consequently, their 'constructs' do not capture the verbal reality of our multilingual situation. Even such basic notions like 'dialect',. 'standard', 'mother-tongue', etc., as defined in standard textbooks of linguistics, are unable to find their operational significance and applicational relevance in our real verbal situation. We find more residues than configurations. I am confident that scholars seriously engaged in the area of language study will share with Professor Pattanayak the responsibility of making their discipline 'critical' and 'true' to their own reality.

University of Delhi
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October 13, 1990

R. N. SRIVASTAVA
Professor
Department of Linguistics

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am thankful to Dr. M. S. Thirumalai, who selected the papers, edited them and made it possible for them to see the light of the day.

I am thankful to the Central Institute of Indian Languages for undertaking its publication.

I am thankful to Sri H.L.N. Bharati for seeing through the production of the book.

I am thankful to Dr. J. M. Bayer, for putting the papers together and encouraging me for their publication.

DEBI PRASANNA PATTANAYAK

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I

LANGUAGE

INDIA :
A PROFILE OF LANGUAGES

India, like USSR is a multilingual, multiethnic, and pluricultural country. There are about 3000 mother tongues, 4000 castes and communities, and equal number of faiths in India.

The mother tongues returned in Censuses are not languages, but they are identity tokens of sorts. There are between 200 and 700 languages belonging to four or five language families. They are written using 10 major script systems and a host of minor ones. There are instances in which a language may be written using multiple scripts and a script may be used to write many languages. Although the Indian languages belong to four or five families, the major scripts, barring Roman and Perso - Arabic, belong to a single family. All these scripts emanate from Brahmi (3rd Century, B.C.).

There are fifteen major languages listed in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution of India. They are Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu.

English, the associate official language of the Union and official language of some States, is not included in the list. So are State Official Languages like Manipuri, Khasi and Mizo, and languages recognised by the Sahitya Akademi (the National Academy of Literature) such as Maithili, and Konkani. Sanskrit, a classical language is included in the list whereas many other classical languages are excluded. Kashmiri, which is not a State Official language, is included. Urdu and Sindhi, which are sub-regional languages in many States, are also included.

The modern Indian languages listed in the Constitution except Sindhi, Urdu and Sanskrit form the dominantly monolingual units of the Union. All the modern Indian languages have history and literature spanning 1000 years. All these languages are communicationally heterogeneous, each with its dialects, sociolects, styles and registers.

A cursory look at the map of India reveals three pictures. There are States where the dominant language is spoken by between 85 and 95 per cent of the population. There are some other States where the dominant languages are spoken by between 45 and 65 per cent of the population. There are some other States where no language is spoken by more than 20 per cent of the population.

India is a country of linguistic minorities. Hindi, the largest language of wider communication is spoken in some variety by only 40 per cent of the population of the country. It has between 29 and 33 recognized dialects. In Rajasthan according to 1981 Census, 33.32 per cent Hindi is returned as against 56.49 Rajasthani. Bengali and Telugu, the next in number, constitute 8 per cent each. The linguistic diversity accounts for 4.96 per cent (in Kerala) to 84.54 per cent (Nagaland) according to the 1961 Census.

Tribal mother tongues belonging to the four families total about 400. The tribals constitute 11 per cent of the total population of India. Of the 58 languages used as school language, there are very few tribal languages.

The Three-language formula is the result of a national consensus to be learnt at the school stage. It is Hindi, English and another Indian language, preferably a South Indian language in the Hindi regiona, and regional language, Hindi and English in the non-Hindi regions of the country. This is not uniformly observed in the country. English, because of the colonial psyche and international patronage, enjoys a privilege disproportionate to its speakers.

According to an estimate, there were 237.7 million illiterates in the age group of 15+ in 1981. The number of illiterates in all age groups was 424.3 millions in 1981 accounting for fifty per cent of the total illiterate population of the world.

India has 15 per cent of the world population, it accounts for barely 3 per cent of the world's book titles. It is the eighth country in the world in terms of publishing. But 50 per cent of the titles published are in English, and the rest in all the Indian languages put together. What is more striking is that while English titles are mostly non-fiction, Indian languages titles are mostly literary in content. While the world per capita consumption is about 2000 pages in the world's leading publishing countries, India accounts only a fraction of this.

As against this linguistic diversity there are commonalities which bind the country together. The cultural miscegenation of the last 3000 years has resulted in common syntactic and semantic patterns leading to India becoming a single linguistic, socio-linguistic and culture area. If one marks every ten miles from east to west and north to south one would find that there is no break in communication in contiguous point of the scale. The linguistic boundaries so merge that even if languages belonging to two language families meet in certain places they operate with a single underlying grammar and two surface structures. There are languages of wider communication such as

Nagamese, Sadri and Desia which link mutually unintelligible languages with one another.

India is a country of paradoxes. Here one finds one ethnic group speaking two languages belonging to two different families. One also finds a single language spoken by many ethnic groups. One finds invented and revealed scripts competing for recognition with the established scripts. One finds small languages asserting their identities as much as small languages seeking larger identities. Research in the pedagogy of first, second, foreign and classical languages conducted in institutions of national importance, and yet one finds the age old pedagogy practised in schools. It is just like Gobar gas and atomic energy existing side by side in the country.

It is evident that unless Indian languages are enriched through their use as medium of education and administration, the economic, scientific and technological development of the country is bound to be distorted. Amidst the bewildering diversities and ineptitude for bold and imaginative actions, there are portents that this evident fact is .steadily recognized. The New Education Policy as well as the National Book Policy emphasize balanced development of Indian languages as a prelude to national deveolpment.

LANGUAGE PLANNING AND LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

Language is a typically human phenomenon. In moving from the 'natural being' of animal existence to the 'cultural being' of human existence, language plays the decisive role. Language gives a sense of identity to an individual as well as a social group and, in the process, creates multiple identities[1]. The maintenance, merger, clash and change in identities based on and reflected in the language change has prompted linguists, philosophers, psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists and political scientists to study language in its multifarious dimensions. Since economic and societal planning have to, of necessity, take into account the context of planning, there is no wonder that worldwide attention has been drawn towards language planning.

Language is an asset and a primary instrument of human communication. However, language can become a problem and a barrier to communication, sometimes symbolically so, under conditions of multiplicity of ethnic groups, languages, dialects, styles, registers and scripts. These conditions may lead to one or more of the following situations which necessitate language planning :

(i) Mutually unintelligible language, dialects or scripts competing for supremacy or dominance.

(ii) Mutually intelligible languages, dialects or scripts,
  a) threatening mutual identity,
  b) with mutually unfavourable attitudes.

(iii) Existence of diglossia, triglossia or multiglossia.

(iv) Existence of languages with dominant/minority relationship with a national frontier.

(v) Social variables correlating with language use and creating communication zones.

(vi) Official action in recognising official languages, distributing patronages for development of languages which may even have the remote implication of displacing or disturbing in reality or symbolically, the existing domains of language use.

(vii) Language used by the politicised elite to further the interests of a political or religious group.

(viii) Language used by the controlling elite to retain their elitist privileges by restricting language use in education, administration and mass media.

There is an urgent need for serious attention to language planning in a country like India. The following examples are illustrative of situations which demand the attention of educationists and planners to the crucial importance of language in society.

1. Sometime back, the Physics Department of the Aligarh University administered a standardised creativity test to the high achievers of the University. To their great surprise they found the result absolutely erratic. After hurried consultations among the scientists involved, it was decided to translate the

test into Hindi—Urdu, the mother tongue of the students taking the test. It is only then that the test yielded the expected standard result[2].

2. A very significant programme, the preparation of a Bridge Course in Kannada, was undertaken by the Central Institute of Indian Languages some years back. From experience and observation the Institute came to a few conclusions:

1. Language teaching, particularly that of teaching the mother tongue in the Indian schools, is defective.
2. What is taught in the name of language is literature.
3. The teaching of literature is restricted to the teaching of ancient and medieval literature and seldom touches the contemporary.
4. Even in literature, more emphasis is given to teaching about literature than really teaching literary sensibility and critical judgement.
5. No attention is paid to the teaching of different registers.
6. As a result, there is a gap between the language attainment at the end of the school stage and the language requirement at the beginning of the college stage, particularly when taught through the mother tongue medium.

As a result of this, the students cannot cope with their college studies. Some 900 students selected from three Universities of Karnataka were given a pre-test. A hundred-hour Bridge Course developed by the Institute was offered to an experimental group of about 400 students and a post-test given to all the 900. It was established that the hypotheses suggested by the Institute were valid and that, pending revision of the school curriculum, the Bridge Course was of immediate necessity, particularly in the context of switchover to the mother tongue medium at the University stage (Upadhyaya 1972 and Dave 1974).

3. In Nagaland, there are 22 mutually unintelligible Naga languages, of which 16 recognised by the State Government.

The language of communication among the people is Pidgin Naga, which is used even in the floor of the Assembly, though not an officially recognised language. In the absence of an acceptable common language, the State Government has adopted English as the State Language (Sreedhar 1974). This has not only created a wide gulf among the elite and the masses of people, but also deprived the common man from effectively participating in the processes of governance of the State.

4. The widespread radio network in the country has shrunk distances. The growing television network has demonstrated the potential of revolutionising communication in a very short time. However, out of the 1652 mother tongues of the country, broadcasting is not done even in 150. Broadcasting in languages other than the 15 major languages is meant mostly either for entertainment, or for purposes catering to peripheral interests of the listeners. The television is much more restricted in the coverage. Under these circumstances, in spite of all the outer-trappings, the message broadcast over the mass media reaches a very restricted audience (Pattanayak 1974). A study of the language of newspapers and that of the film is bound to reinforce the above conclusion.

5. Illiteracy is a major problem of the country (Pattanayak 1974). Out of 800 million illiterates in the world, India is credited to have 400 million. If in eradicating illiteracy the intention is to move from a 'culture of silence' to a 'culture of thinking' participation and the emphasis is on the creation of an intelligent task force for economic and industrial development, then, urgent and bold steps need to be taken in this area. Literacy in a multilingual country poses major challenges. First of all, literacy material must be based on the expressed needs of a people[8]. Secondly, the language of literacy has to be determined keeping in view the various contexts of language use and strategies linking the languages of literacy with that of education and administration.

It would thus be quite clear that whether it is in the field of language use in education, language use in administration or in mass media, there is a constant need to weigh alternatives and plan action. The examples cited above are as true of any multilingual country as they are of India. Such examples not only establish the necessity for language planning, but also the need to analyse its process and product.

Before talking about language planning, one must understand the motivation and mechanisms of planning. Planning is not merely a catalogue of resources and the organisation and mobilization of these resources to reach a certain defined goal. Since the technocrat is seldom the decision maker, it is important that the planner provides alternatives and options of resources utilisation to reach the goal. Once the options are given, the goal is stated and the strategies are spelled out the politician-decision maker can take a decision.

The two aims of planning are growth promotion and environment amelioration. Here, environment is not used merely in the physical ecological sense, but is used in the sense of socio-cultural context of the individuals in society. It is most unfortunate that the pre-occupation with economics as the only discipline of concern of planning blinded the planners to its equally important second aspect of planning.

Those who are obsessed with growth and economic development take the social and cultural imperatives for granted. Like the textbook and laboratory controlled experiments, where all other conditions being equal a certain conclusion flows out of it, the economic planner takes the context of planning for granted and concentrates on the economic planning. He forgets that in actual life all other conditions seldom remain equal and that the context in which social problems are nurtured is as important as the problems themselves. Planning is not merely a balance sheet of inputs and outputs. That input-output statements of growth have to be checked against cost benefit to the society, need to be emphasised more, if planning is not to defeat its own purpose.

Language planning does not merely entail drawing a list of mother tongues spoken in a defined territory, nor does it merely mean listing of their actual and desired domains of use. Whether in a unilingual or in a plurilingual society, language planning is essential to deal with such problems of dialect, language standard, development, attitudes, prejudice and pride, etc. In short, all aspects of language development and the contexts of language use are areas of concern of a language planner.

It would be much more meaningful and sensible to talk of relatively unitary and pluralistic societies, as the great divide seems to be unitary and pluralistic rather than developed and developing in the context of language planning. In pluralistic societies, choices, options and alternatives are imperatives of planning, as the basis of pluralism is transparent and easily manipulated.

Speaking of language development, Khubchandani (1975: 102) offers the following framework which accepts the distinction between developed and undeveloped languages:

Dimension	Developed Language	Undeveloped Language
Range of communication.	Wide, Sometimes multinational.	Limited to a region.
Ecological status.	Spoken by dominant majorities.	Spoken by dominant minorities.
Domain of use.	All.	Restricted as with vernaculars.
Writing system	Present.	May not be present.
Literary status	With literary traditions.	Colloquial, bazar languages.
Social prestige	Standard language, acceptable to the elite.	Non-standard or sub-standard: slangs, hybrids.

This is too simplistic a model. Following this one can argue that the major (scheduled) languages of India are both developed and un-developed and they are neither developed nor undeveloped. One can say that, barring their restricted domain of use, they fulfil all the criteria of developed language. At the same time, looking at the situation from national and international perspective, one can say that, being diglossic, they have all the features of undeveloped language. One can also go a step forward and argue that the languages of Asia and Africa are undeveloped, whereas in Latin America, the major language is developed and the minority (such as Indian) languages are undeveloped. If one takes the case of English alone, this scheme will lead to untenable conclusions. Actually such a schematic presentation conceals and confuses issues rather than clarifies them.

Ferguson's criteria (Fishman 1968 : 28) of a developed language, inter-translatability with languages in the industrial society, is ethnocentric. One may wish to give the benefit of doubt by saying that the industrial society probably has developed the most varied registers of the language used. But, in the agricultural society, certain contemplative disciplines have flourished which may not have found place in the industrial society. In any case, there is no reason why value judgement about a society need be bodily transferred into the discussion of language use without establishing its relevance to such discussions.

What, then, is language development ? Can a language be developed by a language planning society ? One popular notion of a developed language is its antiquity. Languages which are older are generally considered more developed. Scholars of history of language and literature in all Indian languages usually devote considerable space and time to this aspect of the question. Another popular notion is linked with the availability of creative literature in a language. Thus, a quarrel whether Bengali or Tamil is more developed has resulted in a lot of unproductive debate. A corollary of this stand is the rejection of spoken languages as languages and give them a grudging recognition as dialects. Scholars have even gone to the extent of saying that Saora has only 700 words, and therefore it does not deserve the status of a language, thus putting the premium on the vocabulary.

Presentation of a norm or standard where competing varieties of a language exist is a primary step in language development. This can be achieved by standardising spelling, writing grammars, dictionaries, textbooks, etc. Developing a script for non-literate languages forms a legitimate concern of language development efforts. Increasing the domain of use of a language is another major concern of language development. This is best achieved by promoting new registral writing, creating technical terminology, and encouraging translation, etc. In a multilingual society, allocation of domains of use to each language and ensuring its increased or decreased use for specific domains forms part of the study of language development. Language planning agencies, endowed with sufficient technical expertise, and executive power, and certainly do a great deal to influence language development, and, through planning, help reduce conflict and tension.

The problems in a linguistically plural society are complex, the options are competitive and the goal is difficult to perceive, because of the volotile nature of the context of language use. It must be understood that no language or culture group is absolutely unitary or monolithic in nature. For example, all persons speaking English do neither speak a uniform language nor do they share a single culture. Even all English speakers in England or America cannot be so classified. Communication facilities, ethnicity, religious .grouping, unevan opportunities leading to uneven education and cultural development are some of the parameters which account for regional linguistic differences even where a single language is dominant.

In the past, linguists assumed a uniform and invariant structure of lauguage. At the present moment it is generally accepted that the speech matrix of a community is costituted of varieties of the language. These are generally treated under rubrics of style, register, dialect, sociolect, etc. While in a single dominant language society, the different varieties tend to have specialised functions, in a multilingual society, in addition to varieties of mother tongue, one or more other languages share the communicative domain.

When there are people using different languages and different varieties of a language, it is natural that they develop certain attitudes towards each other. These attitudes indicate social ranking and relative status of groups and also intergroup cohesiveness or lack of it within a broad framework. Each person considers his language to be the paragon of beauty and sweetest sounding of all. The neighbour's language usually comes in for a drubbing. The neighbour with whom one comes in constant communication, competes for socio-economic advantages, trades and establishes other societal relationship, naturally exerts a lot of linguistic influence. The nature of this influence depends on many factors, the important one being the political-economic power of the communities concerned.

A Telugu speaker calls Tamil by the given name 'Aravam', meaning 'sound not sweet to hear'. The neighbour's language is described in many languages as the sound of pebbles in a tin drum or sounds coming from a mouth filled with *pan*. One's own language is like peeled sweet banana, sweet as sugar and like nectar. When so expressed the unconscious feelings are expressed as conscious attitudes. The epithet of Devabhasha 'language of the gods' brought out the retort from the Maharashtra saint poet, 'If Sanskrit is the language of gods, is Prakrit the language of thieves?' All such overt attitudinal statements are grist in the mill of the linguist and the language planner.

The above attitudes are not strictly confined to interlingual relationships. Attitudes of dialect speakers of one language towards each other may result either in consolidation and standardization of the language, or separation and split of a language.

The notion of dialect may or may not have a pejorative connotation for the standard language speaker, but, for the dialect speaker, it is related to local pride. Any effort at standardisation must take this factor of local pride into consideration. A study of dialects of Hindi in India alone will provide examples of both consolidation and separation.

As attitudes towards others' language have serious sociolinguistic implications, so has one's attitude towards one's own language. A derogatory attitude or a sense of deficiency tawards one's own language results in the looking for an external standard, acceptance of a culture language or even language loss. The Canadian French speakers looking towards Parisian French, the Caribbean Hindi speaker, the Ceylonese Tamil speaker and the Malayalee settlers in Hong Kong looking towards India, for standards is the result of a feeling of deficiency by the speakers of those languages outside their homeland. Non-literate minority languages adopting a dominant language for almost all purposes other than home use, as in the case of Kannada for Tulu, Kodagu and Marathi or Kannada for Konkani in India, are examples of culture languages. Examples of loss of language due to weakened loyalty can be found almost in all parts of the world. In India various tribal languages which are lost because of the modernising thrust of various dominant languages may be taken as examples.

Sometimes loyalty towarbs one's own language is shaken due to induced circumstances. For example, the steam roller publicity in favour of American white English and standard is responsible not only for the lack of confidence in the native black and brown speakers of English about the standard of their mother tongue in the USA itself, but also for the lack of faith of the non-English world in Asia and Africa in the non-white speakers, including native speakers of English of Latin American origin in the USA as class room models.

As would be clear by now, although language planning in some form is needed in all societies, the need for it is greater in a muitllingual society where the problem of communication is complex, and confronts the speaker with multiple options.

Linguists have conceived of primary, secondary and tertiary speech communities on the basis of communicatory situations linking the National language with the secondary and the International language with tertiary (Haugen 1972:166). But such a simplified model is inadequate to explain the situation in multilingual societies in general and Indian situation in particular. Take for example, a group of Dravidian and Munda language speakers using a common code, Desia, for communication, which is a dialect of Oriya, an Indo-Aryan language. Oriya as a language has dialects which shade off into Marathi, Hindi or Bengali. If one measures the country in any direction on a straight line with points at short intervals, it will be quite evident that there is break in communication only at the extreme points of the scale. Viewed from one angle, there is 'partial understanding' among contiguous speech communities in India; viewed from the other, there is Switzerland - like tertiary speech communities among whom interpreters are needed as there is no understanding. But what is of real interest is that the process of creation and change of primary language loyalties, the process of a group transcending the primordial linguistic loyalty through intermediary change of identities and developing larger loyalties and identities, sub-national or national, is concealed in these simplified models.

Because of ethnic cohesiveness and consequent density in communication, at the intermediate contiguous points even languages belonging to two different families are found to share a common grammer. Gumperz (1971 : 256) has pointed out that the bilinguals in the border of Maharashtra and Karnataka operate with a single grammar and move from one language to the other through a set of transformation rules

It is not always that a third language is used as a common code. In the cases of Konkani : Marathi ; Tulu : Kannada, the former has adopted the latter as culture languages, thus allocating, the culture language the domain of formal communication.

All these call for a re-examination of notions like national language, George Puttenham's comment (1589) "After a speech is fully fashioned to the common understanding, and accepted by consent of a whole country and nation, it is called a language" is a poor definition both of nation and of language. In a nation like India, where there are languages of all India importance, languages of regional importance and languages of local importance, all the 1652 mother tongues, listed by the Census are national languages. This includes the so-called foreign mother tongues which have become part of the national cultural heritage of the country. It must be understood in this connection that 'nation' is a political concept. A political entity becoming a nation faces the challenge of developing a sense of nationalism among all the people inhabiting it. If already a majority of people have imbibed the spirit of nationalism, the task is to persuade the minority to accept the national goals set by the majority. In a nation inhabited by people of diverse ethnicity and language without a dominant group, a national outlook has to emerge through consensus. This requires coherence between the local group needs and national needs, between micro-planning, and macro-planning, and between economic development and political development. In short, it requires coherence between economic development through planning and socio-political context for such developmental planning.

The 'sons of soil theory' as propounded in different regions of India has to be viewed in this general perspective. In fact, this phenomenon is not peculiar to India. The demands of the French in Canada, the Tamil in Sri Lanka, the Bengalis in the erstwhile Pakistan, the Flemings in Belgium, the various ethnic groups in Philippines, UK, USA and even in the USSR for equal national importance and equal share in development can be subsumed under this rubric. Such theories arise out of micro-planning at its narrowest application and is anti-national in both approach and content. India as a nation can be viewed as constituting a single soil, Maharshtra or Tamil Nadu may be viewed as disparate entities and independent soils. Within

Maharashtra, Vidarbha and Marathwada claim independent soil status, whereas Marathas, not to speak of the backward classes, are not even given equal treatment with Brahmins in the same soil. Under these circumstances 'sons of soil' is not only a pernicious doctrine, but any planning based only on such considerations without reference to macro-planning is bound to defeat the very purpose of planning. Those who plead for sons of soil theory, often due to lack of perspective, draw strength and support from notions such as situation-bound language planning (Khubchandani 1975).

In a nation state with pluri-lingual society, it is important to be aware of the local needs as well as the national needs. Exclusive concern either with the dominant or the minority without reference to the other is bound to hurt both and destroy the society. Neighbourhood is important and of immediate relevance to all; but extension of the neighbourhood or at least the awareness of its extended frontiers so as to reach out to the national frontiers is of equal importance from the point of view of the existence of a nation. If there is no coherence between a speech area and a language area, then it is bound to create conflict. Language planning and language development, to be effective, must have the twin focus on micro and macro level needs, aspirations and resources.

The Western view is linear and binary whereas the Eastern is cyclical and spiral. However, the westernised eastern elites, who are in charge of planning, follow essentially the Western world view. That is why, all language problems are reduced to binary oppositions such as English:Hindi; Hindi:Urdu; Hindi: Indian languages, etc; and all integrative solutions elude them.

'Unity in diversity' is so worn out through constant use that it is often rejected as a cliche. And yet if language planning is to be achieved without coercion in a multilingual, multi-ethnic society, it has to be viewed in the grand design offered by Gandhi in his concept of the 'oceanic circle'. In this structure, composed of innumerable speech communities, "life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom. But it will be an oceanic circle whose centre will be the individual", always ready to defend and enrich his mother tongue, each speech community ready to defend and enrich the standard, the superposed or the culture language, each such group ready to defend, enrich and sacrifice for the regional dominant language and the latter ready to defend, enrich and sacrifice for the link language, national language or language and languages of national and international integration, "till at last the whole becomes one life composed of individuals, never aggressive in arrogance, but ever humble, sharing the majesty of the oceanic circle of which they are integral unit".

NOTES

1. These multiple identities may be both multi-lingualism in the mother tongue and plurilingualism in the sense of different language use. See : Wandruszka, Mario, *Interlinguistics-Outlines of the New Linguistics.* **Education;** Vol. 12. Institute for Scientific Co-operation, Tubingen, Landhausstr. 18, FRG, pp 76 ff.
2. Personal communication from Prof. Rais Ahmed, formerly Professor of Physics, Aligarh Muslim University, and later Director, NCERT, New Delhi.
3. Ph.D. thesis of Daniel Moulton in the University of Texas based on his field work in Andhra Pradesh, India under supervision of the author.

THE LINGUIST IN MULTILINGUAL INDIA

Indian Linguistics has made great strides during the last fifty years. The contribution of India and foreign linguists to the study and development of Indian languages can be seen from the two bibliographies released on the last Silver Jubilee day of the Linguistic Society of India. Even though the contribution is enormous, the areas of weakness continue to be large. The departments of Linguistics produce good teachers of Linguistics, but they generally fail to initiate Linguists to wider areas of study where problems of language are correlated with the more relevent social issues of the country, and thus the linguists continue to remain in the periphery of nation building activities.

All over the world there is deep concern about tensions between nationalism and a world community. The accent on the uniqueness of nationalism blurs the communality among differing ways of life. Those who are working towards meeting the challenges of a divided world, torn by ethnic, religious, linguistic, tribal and ideological factionalism, naturally grope in darkness to reset the disturbed mosaic. One of the reasons for their frustration is that, while the fact that the world is populated by diverse men and women with differing language, religion, food and dress habits, modes and manners, economic and political structures, is better realised by those planning for the reconstitution of the human community, it is not so with those planning for modern nations. It is assumed that modern nations have a dominant language, a dominant religion, a dominant ethnic group and a dominant way of life. The minority ways of life are enclaves and islands in a modern nation, either to be bypassed or to be finally absorbed by the dominant.

This cultural and developmental monomodel laying down rules for linear and vertical progression towards material progress and development, naturally, comes into conflict with actual facts of life where poverty, affluence, impotence and power are tackled variously by differing culture groups. The fact that in large parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America diverse populations and cultures live autonomous, yet interdependent, existence within vaguely defined land masses, creates problems for nation builders. Those who have built up entrenched privilege bases on the national models feel disturbed and threatened at the alternative presented by these multilingual, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural countries. The reason is two-fold. Once the idea of an alternative is accepted, the instruments created for developing and managing nationalism would be obsolete. Secondly, there would be greater demand for a humane treatment of those damned for their difference within the system, and, consequently, threaten the privileges of the advantaged.

India, with its ruling minority elite trained in the western tradition, illustrates the conflict between pluralism and nation building more vividly. The elite constantly harp on a 'viable polity', 'a strong Prime Minister', 'a centralised government', 'a national market', 'big modern plants' and a 'national mainstream'. According to them, the alternative to these is fragmentation, loss of statehood, anarchy or non-government. The fact of pluralism, if not decried outright, is painted as a great inconve nience and a barrier to building a modern nation state. *Modernisation* is equated with *westernisation* and, therefore, whatever does not fit into the model approved and accepted by them is considered quaint, archaic and outmoded.

Language brings out in clearer focus the inegalitarian society created as a result of ignoring the pluralistic base of Indian culture. In a country with 1652 mother tongues, ten major script systems, language development and language use pose major challenges. Through manipulation of language use in education and enforcing the notion of a dominant and a standard language or dialect, millions of children are made illiterate in their mother tongue. 88 out of every 100 drop out of school before Standard V and are, to a large degree responsible, for the 70 per cent adult illiteracy in the country. The institutional education system is geared to the creation of a limited elite who have access to rank status, and wealth in the society. The others are branded drop-outs at different stages of education and are provided 'emplyment', while those who are uneducated are made to pay for maintaining this inequity. Higher education attracts the relatively more privileged. Only 1.8 per cent of the university students are from the weaker sections of the society.

Use of an artificial standard language or dialect in schools not only stigmatises the many spoken languages, it also creates a gulf between the home language and school language, which in turn creates low self image and low achievement through the entire education system. The argument for an imposed standard language or dialect and a language neutral between various contending interests is built on fear psychosis of fragmentation and guilt complex of anti-nationalism and anti-development. In this way, institutional education upholds the cause of the limited elite and creates newer inequities and introduces subtler discriminations.

Whether it is adult education or mass participation in the process of socio-economic reconstruction of the country, the entire exercise leads to frustration because of the non-recognition of the pluralistic base of communication. As large scale printing demands and promotes monolingualism, advanced technology, like Telestar technology, because of limitation of channels, inhibits pluralistic communication. Large scale data processing involving most modern computer operations would also favour reduction of data and operations to binary manipulations. This situation is naturally propitiate for the builders of nation states who would like to destroy the autonomous existence of small groups and individuals who stand as barriers to the monomodel of nationalism.

Administrative convenience was used as an argument by the colonial rulers for imposing English in administration. The same arguments in a different garb are being used even today. Whenever a concession is made to the local languages in education, it is offset by a calculated policy of rejection of its products in administration. There is evidence that Marathi medium students were discriminated against while seeking admission to higher professional courses. First class Tamil graduates were rejected in favour of Second class English graduates in Tamilnadu in the recent past. By resisting to link one level of education with another, and language of education with language of administration and language of mass communication, the managers of people's affairs have succeeded in fostering and sustaining an inequitable system which favours themselves.

Language is the key to the understanding of the mutually reinforcing relationship among language use, elite formation, vertical growth of education, unequal opportunities, and greater social and economic inequality. Research has shown not only higher correlation between higher social strata and higher education but also negative correlation between lower social status and higher opportunities. The social hierarchies are reinforced by institutional education, thus creating newer inequities where none existed before. The understanding of the socio-economic process would not be completed without an understanding of the dialectic relationship between language and society. It is a challenge to the profession of Linguists to make these language-related issues explicit and create a favourable atmosphere for a people-oriented approach. Indian linguists can provide leadership to the Third World countries in this regard and help the forces seeking an alternative to the present oppressive authoritarianism built around a pseudonationalism. Linguists should rise to the occasion of protecting the existing communities, thus laying down viable principles for building a world community.

The linguistic and cultural pluralism in the country is threatened by planned action in favour of one language and one script. Diverse ways of life and multiform expression of the Indian culture are threatened by imposed standardisation, pressures of large scale printing, one language and one script movement which seeks to replace variety by one, and, above all, by institutional education which promotes mono-lingualism.

A cursory look at the realities in India will prove that all border zones among languages are billingual, if not trilingual. The work force in industrial cities and towns are bilingual. Speakers of most minority languages are bilingual. Even the tribals for mutual contact have developed a Desia, a Sadari or a Nagamese as a bridge to the neighbouring dominant languages. The Sindhi, Punjabi and the Keralite people, who, for business or employment, are spread all over the country, are multilingual. It is only those who are schooled argue about and argue against the need for learning more languages. For, the reality is the greater the schooling the greater is the demand for less and less language.

A new vocabulary has been added to the discipline of education by calling language a load. Nobody thinks that learning local, regional, national and world history is a load. But an argument is put forward that learning languages for local, regional, national and international communication is a load. People forget that whether a language is taught as a subject or a medium, the main purpose is communication. The communication may be from speaker to hearer or from writer to reader. Therefore learning a language is more than learning a content subject. It is learning a new universe of discourse. Learning a new language is acquiring ability to perceive reality in a new way. When the same reality is perceived and described variously by different languages, cultivation of many languages is not merely enriching, it acts as a shield against ethnocentric prejudices. Secondly, unless one is competent in various language skills through which one has acquired knowledge, he cannot aspire to do well in content subjects. If language competence is low, then, clarity of concepts is bound to be affected and consequently clarity in expression is bound to suffer. As the UNESCO Report on "Interaction between Linguistics and Mathematical Education" shows, performance in Mathematics is related to the performance in language skills.

If the aim is to reach education to the 88 out of hundred who do not get a chance to go beyond the primary school, then a strategy must be evolved to link their mother tongue with different segments at different levels within and outside the country. Therefore, any reduction of language in the curriculum will not only affect education adversely, but also create an oppressive atmosphere affecting the very basis of Indian culture.

No matter from whichever point one looks at the Indian reality, Languge planning based on functional hierarchy among multiple languages is the only way. It is a challenge to the linguists of the country to help in planning and implementation of a language programme based on the acceptance of the multilingual bases of the country.

THIRD WORLD EXPERIENCE IN LANGUAGE USE

Ethos of Multilingualism

The developed countries have appropriated to themselves the titles of the First and the Second world. The developing countries are, then, lumped together and called the Third world. This euphemism has given the leaders of the First/Second world a sense of superiority; the leaders of business in these countries have the feeling that the Third world is for exploitation of raw materials, and the academic leaders have the feeling that they are producers of theories and the others are consumers. This has led many leaders of the Third world to believe that, in order to catch up with the advanced world, certain specific aspects of the socio-political and economic life of their countries need to be controlled or guided. They have uncritically accepted the Western notions of nation building and are indirectly playing the game of the developed countries. Many problems of developmental planning, flow from this. For example, the developed countries treat their respective dominant languages as resources, call them world languages, and use them to further their national interest. In the Third world, if language is to be used to inform and educate the public, to mirror the society, to interpret the development process and mediate in social change, then it is only common sense that all prevalent languages should be considered as resources and that all these resources be exploited for national self-realisation. Instead, many consider multplicity of languages as a problem, a burden, and an incovenience. Because of lack of clarity about the developmental goal and the means to reach it, there appears to be a conflict between the social, psychological on the one hand, and the political, economic on the other.

The Third world is not only highly disparate; even each country within it is far from being homogeneous. It is multilingual, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural. In these countries, there are transnational languages which exert influence disproportionate to the number of their speakers. The societies deeply fragmented and divided due to linguistic, religious, ethnic subdivisions are engaged in local and regional debates and cannot match the pseudo-national claim of the minority elite using the transnational language. The fear of mother tongue elites posing a threat keeps this elite a cohesive group. They deride the mother tongues as dialect, slang, patois, vernacular, and condemn them to marginal use, or completely ignore them.

Social science theory building in the developed countries conceals exploitation as in the past the Bible concealed the motivation of establishing the colonial empire. By assuming that national development is a linear process of progression, and modernisation is equal to Westernisation, all development is sought to be measured in terms of GNP and per capita income. Linguists have provided ammunition to further this argument. Ferguson (1972) delineated the criteria of measurement of language development, which are established that areas of the world which are economically backward are also linguistically backward. Fishman (1968 : 53-68) linked linguistic homogeneity with high per capita income (and, therefore, greater development) and further strengthened the Ferguson thesis. Ayo Bamgbose, Kasoki Ansre and a host of others have pointed out the pernicious effects of the above assumptions for Black Africa. But they are seldom quoted in Asia. The Indian and the Asian image in Africa and the African image in Asia is what comes through the Western media: Areas of race/tribal riots, political/social instability, poverty and underdevelopment. There is little to learn from one another and there is little commonality in the Third World experience. In order to arrest and eliminate this dangerous trend, it is time that we critically examine some of linguistic assumptions of the developed countries and their consequences.

There is a fundamental difference between the ethos of multilingualism characteristics of the Third world and the ethos of dominant monolingualism, characterising the developed world. Under dominant monolingualism, two languages are considered as a nuisance, three languages uneconomic, and many languages absurd. In multilingual countries, many languages are facts of life, any restriction in the choice of language use is a nuisance, and one language is not only uneconomic but also absurd.

Under dominant monolingualism only one standard language is recongnised and other varieties of the same language are non-standard. The standard is often a narrow band, if not a point. Under multilingualism, the wider the spectrum of the standard, the greater is its chance of being widely accepted among speakers of different varieties (Rajyashree 1980). In any case, even in a single language area, there are different standards ; regional, local, spoken and written. Consistent with the above orientation, dominant monolingulism teaches that there is only one correct way of reaching a stated goal. Multilingualism not only teaches that different languages represent different correct ways of reaching a stated goal, it also permits tolerance of a good deal of variation within the range of the standard in one language.

The dominant language is the language of wider communication in a dominant monolingual country. In multilingual countries, there are different languages of wider communication somewhat hierarchically organised and used in different domains and functions. For example, in the State of Orissa in India, Desia is a language of wider communication for the tribals of South Orissa. Desia itself is considered to be a variety of Oriya. Oriya is the language of wider communication for diverse linguistic groups in the State. Bengali, Telugu, Marathi and Hindi bordering Oriya are languages of wider communication in ceratain areas and for certain purpose. Hindi and English are languages of wider communication for specific social groups and are used in defined domains.

The definitions of *language* and *dialect* are much more stable and their distinctions much sharper under dominant monolingualism. Under multilingualism, language varieties are 'focused' and 'faded' (Le Page 1964) under different socio-economic and political conditions. What is a dialect at one time is cosidered a language at another time and vice versa. Many minority languages accept one dominant language as cultural, language using it in domains other than intimate communication. This and many other strategies of inter-dependence lead to greater degree of convergence. Dominant monolingualism, on the other hand, seeks to attain uniformity through a 'melting pot' (Glazer 1970) strategy. It shocks the proponents and practitioners of this theory to find that identities are not easily killed.

The language boundaries are sharper under conditions of dominant monolingualism as smaller identities are reinforced due to heightened consciousness of small language groups under constant pressure of the dominant. In multilingual countries the language boundaries merge in such a way that there is no sharp break in communication. A study by John J. Gumperz (1971) in India shows that in the border of Maharashtra and Karnataka, although two languages, belonging to two different language families, are spoken on either side, the bilinguals use both languages with a single set of morphophonemic rules.

Beginning from intra and inter-sentential code mixing to intra and inter-discourse code switching many phenomena display distinctive characteristics, which dictate re-examination of the theoretical and methodological basis of socio-linguistics from the vantage point of multilingualism.

In dominant monolingual countries, the geographical and psychological space amog language varieties is narrower than in multilingual countries. The distance between the upper and lower caste language in the Hindi area, the distance between the upper caste language at one end of the Hindi belt and the other is much sharper than the upper and middle class language in Europe or America. Therefore, the linguistic matrix and consequently the linguistic description becomes more complex.

Formulation of social science issues as well as presuppositions of research become different in both situations. While Weinsteian, an eminent political scientist looking at the American structure asks 'how much diversity can this structure tolerate ?' A person in a Third World country must ask 'how much uniformity can that structure tolerate'. Similar problems arise when one tries to impose the European notion of 'nation state' on a multilingual country. European nation building demands loyalty to unitary symbols. A nation stands on a single language, a single religion, and, in its extreme form, a single party and a single leader. Discussing contemporary nationalism, Van den Bergh point out, "Nationalism in Myrdal's view contains an element of hypocrisy: it is the application of values held to be universal in a limited 'national' framework" (Godfried 1966: 828-861). The demand of the nation state to merge minority identities and seek firmer identification with 'national' aims, views many languages as incoveniences and burden on the elite. This creates many contradictions in multilingual societies, encourages nationalities constituting a multilingual state to seek independence, thus threatening its very being, and, in consequence, pushes the state towards greater autocracy. The approach of dominant monolingualism to research resulted in treating one language as an interference in learning another. That one language could be a facilitator in learning another was lost on the applied linguists, until multilingual facility forced recognition of the untenability of this approach. Further, concepts like 'idiolect' or 'the ideal speaker-hearer of a language' would not probably have been formulated had the linguists grown up under multilingual orientation.

Problems of research are best exemplified by difficulties of speech recognition by a computer. An automated speech recognition system relies on word recognition. But distinct, yet accousticaliy more similar, words produce spectrograms alike and are easily handled by the computer than the same word produced by different speakers under different settings. A further complication is 'to make the transition from sounds to words, from an accoustic characterisation of the intended message (Stephen 1981; 64-76). This shows that the binary logic of the computer has not made much headway in handling the expectations and abilities needed to learn a language. Not to speak of continuous speech, but when even handling islolated words is yet to be formalised, the problems posed by an individuals's repertoire of a social matrix in multilingual context, where inputs from multiple languages lead to complexities both in terms of structure and function, can easily be comprehended.

The Third World countries house about 50 per cent of the world's illiterate population. Replacing many languages by one will not only make many otherwise literate people illiterate, it will also deprive them of access to their own cultural heritage. Again, this will not only create semi-lingualism and semi-culturalism in the short run, but also dwarf the cultures in the long run. The gulf between the imposed language and the diverse languages spoken by the people is bound to grow, thus alienating the elite from the masses. The transnational languages competing to dominate the Third World countries are the greatest beneficiaries of the fissures among various linguistic groups. As long as these fissures continue, the

Third World countries can never develop their personality, but will remain permanent parasites on the developed countries. It is in this context that the Third World experience in language use can be critically examined.

Dilemma of Development

Before we go into the experience of the specific countries in the Third World, some cobwebs need to be cleared. Although that 'knowledge is power' has almost become a cliche', few have looked at its implications in the context of the Third Wold. If knowledge is power, then knowledge shared among many is power shared among many. In the same token, knowledge shared among a few is power controlled by a few. As the vehicle of knowledge and information is language, language use, dissemination of knowledge and information, and the structure of the State are intimately connected. Where language controls the access to rank, status and wealth and bestows privileges on a few, democracy atrophies. The elite become more and more intolerant of variety and variation, and the governments become more authoritarian.

For the foreign trained experts many people, many cultures, many languages everything is a problem. Therefore, more emphasis is given in reducing population, homogenising cultures, melting languages rather than planning on different bases for the many. Many people are considered a curse, many cultures a handicap, and many languages a burden. This statement is not, however, against population control, but against wrong planning.

The idea of a nation state, it has been pointed out earlier thrives on unitary symbols, exclusive logic, single standard and one correct way of reaching a stated goal. Multiligual pluri-cultural countries operate with an inclusive logic. For them plurality is not an impediment to cultural integration. They measure interdependence rather than distance. In this process, many disparate groups and entities get bound together (Bayer 1980). In the past, when history, tradition and knowledge was orally transmitted, a certain amount of cohesion was necessary for the relay of message across long stretches of space and time. In relatively modern times, when schooling became equated with education and the unschooled illiterates and semi-literates were dubbed as uneducated, the characteristics of the polity were changed. political rather than cultural relationships assumed importance. As a result, culture and language assumed a subordinate position in nation's planning.

The relationship between educational goals and outcome and the goals of language planning and language use are not of subordination, but of interdependence. Without language, literacy is inconceivable. It is an accepted fact that primary education should be given in the mother tongue of the child. If an early bond is not established between experience and expression and if there is a conflict between the home language and the school language, then, the very foundation on which lifelong education stands is weakened. The learner who cannot use language as medium cannot handle content subjects with confidence and therefore the standard of educational outcome becomes questionable. Thus, language planning is intimately intertwined with educational planning.

The relationship between educational planning and national economic planning is not one of mere emphasis. Economists consider their discipline to be the most important among social sciences, and others seem to passively accept it. Kuklinsky has pointed out that the context of planning is as important as planning itself.. Language is one of the most important contexts of planning. Moreover, the realisation of the goals of planning depends on the popular participation. It is important that they are communicated to the people at different stages of formulation and implementation, and all language resources are exploited for this purpose. Language as a medium of education controls access to education. Language of administration, if incompatible with language of education, disables persons by denying equal opportunity to jobs and other economic activities. Language of mass communication may manipulate information so as to keep people in the dark, use popular idioms to exhort and motivate them to participate in national reconstruction. Thus, it will be seen that language is a component as well as the carrier of planning. Moreover, language provides basic orientation to education, and educated elite in charge of planning build into it biases through assumptions which may or may not be commensurate with the aspirations of the majority of people who are illitirate and not so highly schooled. Higher education is so structured in the developing countries that in most cases the transnational languages are the media of education. The campuses in these countries are not only extensions of campuses in developed countries, but the standards are also dictated by these countries. These are some common disturbing trends. The higher one goes in schooling, the greater is the demand for lesser language and greater is the movement from the rural to the urban and from one's own country to foreign countries.

According to a study by the UNCTAD on the 1971 base line, the developing countries exported 2968 crores of rupees worth of trained manpower to the U.S.A. Out of this India's share is 900 crores. Firstly, trained manpower in these countries, is being created at greater sacrifice, which is not relevant to the needs of concerned countries. Secondly, the majority of these with few exceptions may enjoy a good life, but remain mediocre. Their contribution to the academic or professional world is at the best second rate. Transnational languages as media of instruction favour these fortunate ones, but the countries bereft of talents become double sufferers. Language is an indicator of the direction of the movement of talent, besides being the cause of it. A study of the migration of doctors and nurses involving 45 countries conducted by the WHO proves this point.

Planning for Three Languages in Multilingual Countries

Scholars under the influence of dominant monolingual orientation often consider trilingualism as an extension of bilingualism. But this is not true. In dominant monolingual countries bilingualism is by and large a result of planned action and is induced by school. In multilingual countries, bilingualism is a natural phenomenon and even trilingualism is not unusual.

C.M.B. Brann in his article 'Trilingualism in Language Planning for Education (unpublished), has pointed out that the trilingual configuration of multilingual countries is nothing new. Brann has pointed out that in multilingual medieval Europe three languages, dialects, rising national language and Latin (later French) were in vogue. In the present day European community also this formula is gaining ground.

In the West, conscious policy decisions resulted in language attrition. For example, laws in the U.S.A. forbade teaching of German in Nebraska, made teaching of Japanese difficult in Hawaii, and resulted in the loss of French in Louisiana, where it was requirement for the membership of the State Legislature. In U.K., in the Act of Union initiated by Henry VIII in 1396, it was stipulated that, 'no person or persons that use the Welsh speech or language shall have or enjoy any manner, office or fees within this realm of England, Wales or other King's Dominion, upon pain of forfeiting the same office or fees, unless he or they use and exercise the English speech or language (Brinley 1978). In Europe also dominant monolingulaism is a cultivated historical process. In the Chamber of Deputees of France, even today Deputees claim that only one language, French, is spoken in France. However, European countries are becoming more and more aware of minority languages, and as they proceed to form a European community, they find that interdependent multilingualism is the only way.

Assertion of ethnic authenticity is viewed as separatism by those whose visions are coloured by dominant monolingualism. Having created an education system in the model of the West, they speak of the pressure of number of languages and complain that 'the main stream of education and language development is obstructed by the smaller languages (Anwar 1973: 55-58). As in America, where having developed a machice to pluck tomatoes, the breed of tomatoes had to be made uniform to suit the machine, today's planners of education in multilingual countries try to suit the people and the reality of the country to fit the artificial system rather than the system to fit the need of the people and the objective reality of the country.

It mut be understood that in multilingual countries the three-language formula is a strategy and not a goal (Pattanayak 1970). It is a launching pad for exploration of the world in ever widening circles and, depending on one's capacity, interest and requirement one may learn as many languages as one needs. No language is a ritual language (unless it is used in the sense of a language used for ritual purposes) as no language is a world language. All languages are in some sense ritual languages and no language is an out of world language. In a dominant monolingual State, dialects are used in functionally defined domains. In a multilingual State, languages are used in functionally defined domains. Once this is understood, the question of half language, and the fear of semilingualism would automatically vanish. All languages represent valuable elements of cultural heritage. The question is how to retain that heritage under the pressure of the mono-model.

Third World Examples

From time immemorial, before the present state of India was born, the Indian identity had been established. The two Indian epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* have assumed the cultural unity of India in spite of differing political structure as parts of it. The different travellers to India, Greek, Chinese, Aarb, have left accounts which refer to India as one cultural personality. In the same sense Africa had and still has a corporate personality. But this is more a literary allusion than a political fact at this time. While scholars still refer to India as a continental State because of a Union Government, the same is not true of Africa. Whatever may be the political structure, African personality cannot be denied. The identity of problems in both India and Africa cannot be overlooked and needs to be studied as such.

India, which has 15 official languages, 13 of them regionally and 2 nationally used in education, administration and mass communication, pursues a deliberate policy of multilingualism. For example, the State of Karnataka offers primary education in eight languages. So does the Bombay Municipal Corporation in the metropolis of Bombay. The State of West Bengal offers options of 14 languages at the Secondary School Examination. The Calcutta University, the North Eastern Hill University, the Jawaharlal Nehru University, the Ranchi University are some of the universities which offer post-graduate programmes in non-scheduled languages. States are free to declare more than one official language within their boundaries. The States of Andhra Pradesh and Orissa have declared districtwise demarcated additional languages as State Official languages. Sahitya Akademi, the National Academy of Letters, recognises good literature in whichever Indian language they exist and institutes prizes to encourage them. The purposive multilingualism can further be seen in the Government aid to voluntary organisations through which languages other than the VIII Schedule languages are given special consideration and assistance. The country's educational programmes are so designed that by the end of the school stage all children are supposed to have learnt three languages. But the pattern of education is still diverse. For example, there is a constitutional obligation to give primary education in the mother tongue of the child. But one finds three broad patterns among the unilingual primary schools. Only 58 mother tongues are used as the medium of instruction at the present time. Most schools use dominant State languages, which are majority mother tongues, as medium. There are a limited number of schools which use Hindi or English, the official and the Associate official languages of the country respectively, as medium. The bilingual primary education also demonstrates three broad patterns. There are many schools which teach two languages, one as medium and the other as subject at the primary stage. There are about 240 schools, known as Central Schools, where two mediums are used, one for humanities and social sciences and the other for physical sciences. The third pattern, bilingual education of a transfer model is experimental now. The idea is to start teaching through the medium of the mother tongue, but organise instruction in such a manner that by the post-primary stage the child is ready to follow instruction through another language medium.

It is realistic that as more and more mother tongues find recognition in the school system, the three-language formula becomes a four-language formula. In principle, India is committed to bilingual primary education and in practice it is so even if not officially ordained. Wherever there is difference between home language and school languages, whether it is dialect, style or language, the teacher makes use of the home language of the child to teach him the standard or the school language. In pedagogic terms, the child who already knows his language learns the skills of reading writing and transfers these skills to the other language to which he is introduced in the school. There are numerous ways of maintaining languages. In the school, some of them are maintained as subjects.

It is important to know that there is a considerable amount of passive bilingualism in the country. Apart from the fact that all languages irrespective of their family affiliation share a common core vocabulary, syntactic structure and a common semantic field, their functions are so complementary that so many languages have peacefully co-existed for millennia. As a result, most language boundaries are bilingual. Most cities and slums are multilingual. Today, internal tourism and education and more particularly the electronic media help the perpetuation of multilingualism.

The protagonists of the monomodel have often argued that learning so many languages is a waste of time and is a burden on the child. There are many fallacious and mischievous assumptions underlying such statement. First of all, nobody engaged in preparing a history curriculum has found studying local history, regional (Europe, Latin America) history and world history a burden on the child. Neither scientific discoveries and inventions in different periods nor by different parts of the world is considered a burden for a student of science. There is no reason, why languages used for preservation of one's cultural identity and establishing communicational bonds in an ever widening circle should be considered a waste or a burden. Secondly, having failed to manipulate research results to prove that bi-or multi-lingualism is subtractive and in the face of overwhelming example that multilingualism is cognitively enriching, the social scientists drawing their sustenance from the unitary model have no valid basis for making such statements.

Following the elite social scientists, the language politicians also preach monomodels. Playing on the dual phenomena, greed to grab power and fear of losing privileges, they set up oppositions like Hindi/Urdu (Hindu, Muslim), Hindi/English (Nationalism, Internationalism), Indian languages/English (Localism, Modernity), Indian languages/Hindi (Localism, Nationalism). They plead for the transnational language on the ground of its neutrality among contending national languages and equality of inconvenience for all. It is necessary to expose the myth of neutrality. No language is neutral· and certainly not the speakers. Moreover the argument of inconvenience for all works out to the convenience of those in power and has a parallel to the colonial language policy. All these arguments seek to substitute the culture of interdependence by a relation of dominance and subordination.

The Indian situation cannot be completely described without a reference to literacy. India, a cradle of civilisations from the earliest times, has about 400 million illiterates, 50 per cent of that of the whole world. In the past literacy was not equated with education. Even 200 years ago the illiteracy in

England was appalling. It is in the middle of the 19th century that Bentham proudly announced that only written law is civilised law and the customary law is that of the barbarians. The third world not only accepted it but also accepted the European equation of education with schooling. It is then that they disabled themselves. Since then we are running after the mirage of universal literacy. This does not mean slackening of attention and efforts towards literacy. As in India, in selected areas experimentation must be conducted in biliteracy, so that while mother tongue literacy will be motivating, other tongue literacy may provide the much needed follow up materials and economic opportunity. But as John Oxenham rightly points out, literacy as a technology is subject to obsolescence (Oxhenham 1980). Unless intellectuals and educational planners work for egalitarianism in the sharing of knowledge and information within the framework of the illiterate people, the game of literacy will keep some more educated busy, and the absolute numbers will continue to go up while there may be marginal improvement in the percentage of literacy.

While India is at one end of the spectrum, probably Singapore is on the other and is planning towards monolingualism (Afendras 1980). The 62 per cent Chinese in that country are being taught Mandarin, although none of them are Mandarin speakers. The large majority of them are Hokkien speakers and the rest are diverse dialect users who are bilingual in Hokkien. The Malayan population is about 22 per cent and Indians about 11 per cent. The accent is on English education. This year the Government of Singapore has imported 400 English teachers from England. This is a strange but calculated move. People in authority secretly hope that once people's roots in the mother tongues are loosened, English would automatically take over. This is justified on the ground that Singapore is a trade centre and therefore English is in its best advantage. This experiment may succeed because of the smallness of the place and the peculiar demography and politics of the country and the region. But the results would be quite interesting from the point of language planning.

In the South-East Asia the case of Indonesia and Malaysia deserve special mention. Both the countries took planned action to create standard national languages. Both countries agreed to keep their national languages separate, though they work in close co-operation and co-ordination. Because of many factors Indonesia has been more successful in establishing its national language and uses it in a larger number of domains than Malaysia. Both the countries face pressure from their ethnic minorities for some recognition of their languages. The solution to their problems lies in multilingual interdependence rather than assertion of dominance. The enlightened leadership in both the countries is bound to make a success of their resolve in creating unity in diversity.

The third world experience will be incomplete without a reference to China. However, firstly its decision making apparatus being centralised makes for a difference. Secondly, it has recently gone through a traumatic experience and yet to recover from it. Thirdly, as long as it seeks parity or equation with super powers, it will be forced to make compromises which will create inner contradictions. The fact of the Chinese case is that for all practical purposes China is a multilingual country. In the past the standardised writing provided unity to the many mutually unintelligible varieties of Chinese. It is no longer entirely true. There is a need for simplification of Chinese character and there are sensible moves in this direction (John 1972:450-475). There is, however, internal pressure for Romanising the script. Once that happens, the existing bonds among dialects/languages are bound to be loosened and more pressure mounted for uniformisation. This is the path to disharmony. One can only hope that a great country like China will not fall prey to the modern trappings which will destroy its culture and create internal discord.

To Conclude

This chapter did not intend to present case studies of individual third world countries. It has raised certain issues and pointed out certain fundamental differences in policy, planning and implementation under conditions of dominant monolingualism. It argues that imposition of a monomodel on the multilingual, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural countries of the world instead of strengthening them will weaken their cultural fabric and impoverish them.

This essay further hinted that the developing third world countries are experiencing tremendous internal dissensions and external pressure. This external pressure orientation is internalised by the third world elite who are unconscious allies of the external motivation. Unless socio-economic planning and social science theories and practices are motivated that they can bind the local, the regional, the national and the transnational in a single thread, they will remain irrelevant to the peoples and countries of the third world.

LANGUAGE AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT: THE CASE OF INDIA

National developement can be seen from the perspectives of standard of life and quality of life. Standard of life can be quantified in terms of GNP, NNP, and such like. Quality of life is inter-related with the standard of life but can be seen as distinctly different. Soft indicators such as nutrition, life expectancy, child death at birth, and food distribution make up factors that measure quality of life. Creativity, innovativeness originality of thinking in economic, scientific and cultural expressions form parts of it.

Economics is a network of relationship. This network extends from the Wall Street to the backyard of a farmer at home. Why brinjal rate goes up when there is bombing in Iran, why no pumps could be set up for irrigation or supply of drinking water even as payment of kickback of 200 millions for Bofors gun deal is made are topics to be explained and understood by all concerned. More important for our purpose is the interdependence of network of economic relationships and the network of communication channels. A coal miner can become a Prime Minister only if channels of communication are kept open between the two levels. In a country with a single language such communication takes place exploiting the language and its varieties, whereas in a multilingual country it can only be achieved by exploiting the resources of many languages.

International trade is an important mechanism for the increase of GNP in any country. In a pluricultural world, many languages are an asset for international trade and commerce. The Japanese, for example, use English for trade negotiations, but fall back on Japanese for mutual consultations. This gives them an advantage over their adversaries who are not familiar with the Japanese language. The same can be said of Chinese and Russian negotiations for trade and commerce. Under these circumstances, not knowing many languages acts as a handicap, and knowledge of many languages is a resource.

As in the case of international trade, so is the case with internal trade. A feature of urbanisation in India is the creation of multilingual communities. One has a better chance of commerce if one can meet one's multilingual clientele in their home languages.

Ability to defend borders is another indicator of national development. In matters of defence also, knowledge of many languages is a necessity. Not to speak of negotiations for defence equipments, messages coded in different languages for attack and defence require the control of many languages. The American Defence Language School, which teaches over 400 languages at any one time, is the recognition of the need for multilingual capability by a monolingual country.

It is said that the world has shrunk. People speak of a global village. By attaining the capacity to travel 20,000 miles per hour and by our accent on speed, we have made the distant familiar, but we have made the neighbour a stranger. We have acquired a language to communicate with the distant, across nations, but we have no language to communicate with the neighbour.

It will, thus; be seen that even if the world is constituted of monolingual member states, for tourism or trade, for diplomacy or defence, learning of many languages is a necessity. For a multilingual and pluricultural country, it is all the more a need, not only for national development, but for the very being of such a state.

In a multilingual country there are dominantly monolingual territorial units. But one of the characteristics of these units is that they are multilingual. This multilingualism is nurtured by internal trade, tourism, pilgrimage and good neighbourliness. The country is safe to the extent the multilingual character of the units is recognised. Non-recongnition of multilingualism gives rise to identity assertion movements, links linguism with ethnicity, and promotes separatism. National symbols come into constant conflict with regional symbols, and regionalism triumphs over nationalism.

Take for example, Assam and Karnataka, in India. In both the States, approximately 64 per cent of the population speak the dominant language as mother tongue, Assamese in the case of Assam and Kannada in the case of Karnataka. In both the States insensitivity to the minority mother tongues has resulted in the majority assertion, exploitation of the minorities, and erosion of nationalism. Assam, already divided into seven states, is threatened by further possible division. After the establishment of the Konkan State, there is demand for Darjeeling as a separate unit, Uttarkhand, Jharkhand and plains Tribal region as separate units.

India, a country with 1652 mother tongues, approximately 700 languages belonging to four or five language families, written in 10 major script systems and a host of minor ones, presents the biggest challenge of language management, and the most important alternative to dominant monolingualism. If one looks at the map of India, three distinct pictures emerge. There are some States, where the majority language is spoken by between 85 and 95 per cent of the population. There are some States, where no language is spoken by more than 20 per cent of the population. Even the dominantly monolingual areas are communicationally heterogeneous. Dialects, sociolects, styles and registers mark communication in different regions and strata of society. Many people interpret this diversity as divisive and call the Indian society a stagnant society. But, on the contrary, this has been a vibrant society for the past thousands of years. There has been tremendous immigration due to internal trade, tourism, pilgrimage, wars and conquest, and natural calamities. Artisans from one region have worked and settled in another region. Pleating of different strands has resulted in national intergration and recognition of India as a single linguistic and culture area. The homogenisation, attempted at different regions, threatens to bar the confluence of different streams, and is the greatest threat to national development.

Quality of life is measured through cultural efflorescence and the value system of communities. We have an educational system in India which is antithetic to the multicultural value system and promotes lesser number of languages at the higher echelons of education. India is the eighth country in terms of world publishing. Of the approximately 15000 titles published per year, fifty per cent are in English and the other fifty per cent account for all the Indian languages put together. This in itself shows one aspect of distortion. The good Indian writers in English can be counted on the finger tips. Not a single Indian writer or critic is mentioned in the history of English literature. Most English publishing, due to lack of innovative use of language is derivative, and pale replica of life in India or abroad. With the lack of competence, which would permit creative use of the language, and with equal attachment to English, the development of regional languages is blocked and we have the making of an average society, non-creative, non-innovative and, not at all, original in thought and action.

Mother tongues are the fountain head of creative thinking. Approximately 10,000 hours are spent on the acquisition of mother tongue upto the age of five. This gives time to acquire a sense of identity and cultural rootedness to the child. The sense of identity can be expanded by grafting it with a larger identity. In the Hindi region of the country, the natural grafting has resulted in double socialisation, dialect socialisation at home and standard socialisation outside. Konkani, being written in four scripts, and Santhali in five have both extended identity and integrated identity.

If instead of extending the identity, attempts are made to supplant one by another, there develops a rootlessness and anomie which distracts one from the value base of the community. In case of tribal education, this is evident. The tribal children, divorced from their value system, are seldom integrated with the value system of the dominant structure to which they are sought to be assimilated. The worst example is provided by English, where early English education supplanting mother tongue education, results in culture perception blind sports, dissociation from the myths and symbols of society and non-creative use of the mother tongue as well as the second language. It results in unbalanced relation with the immediate environment and inhibition of the interaction of society with science. If science is accumulated knowledge of mankind, and philosophy is what we do not know, then, the alien language blocks the creative exploration of both the known and the unknown. In the process, even if some sectional or regional development takes place, national development is thwarted.

When one scans through national literature, one finds that Bilhana from Kashmir flourished in the court of Karnataka, and a scholar from Orissa received the patronage of the King at Trivandrum. One finds Bendre (a Marathi mother tongue speaker), Masti (a Tamil mother tongue speaker), DVG or Kailasam (Telugu mother tongue speakers) were in the forefront of Kannada literature as much as Radhanath and Annanda Shankar (Bengali mother tongue speakers), Madhusudan (a Marathi mother tongue speaker) were in the forefront of Oriya literature. One also finds that artisans from Madurai worked in the Konark temple, and artisans from Tamilnadu built temples in Gujarat. Leaders of almost all sects established their Maths at Puri, and Brahmins from Karnataka manage the Pashupatinath temple at Kathmandu. Freedom of the people to live in peace with their language and culture in any part of the country bound the country as a whole. 'Sons of the soil' restricting admission to outsiders, majorities exploiting the minorities by forcing them to be assimilated, castes and communities transforming into political pressure groups maintaining their boundaries are responsible for restricting the scale of communication and thereby hinder national development.

Although India consists of small zones of communication they merge into one another in a unique way. If one marks every ten miles from the north to the south or east to the west in a map of India, one finds no break in communication at contiguous points of the scale.. Communication breaks down only at distant points. Each language merges into another at the linguistic border, creating a bi- or multilingual zone.

If science, technology and economic development are to be linked together for the benefit of national development, then the community must participate in the developmental debate. This debate cannot be carried on in a second or foreign language. Use of second and foreign language may result in aping or borrowing technology, but does not lead to the development of problem solving technology appropriate to a situation. Appropriate technology results from the interaction of science with society. Many languages of a multicultural society must be exploited towards opening up channels of multilingual communication. This is the only way to ensure coordinated national development.

National development and language development are irrevocably connected. If India has to continue as a democracy, many languages need to be nurtured as a defence of democracy. Advice and consent of the polity is needed for the running of democratic institutions. Centrally controlled media is bound to give rise to autocracy. Language education is the core of general education, as subjects cannot be taught and learnt without language competence. Publishing for children, neo-literates and school drop-outs can only be meaningful in their many languages. In India, multilingualism is the norm. Bilingualism from this perspective is a handicap, a restriction of facilities. Bilingualism at successive stages should be seen as a step towards maintenance of multilingualism and pluri-culturalism. It is possible to discuss economic development, scientific or technological development and cultural development in isolation. But national development entails all these and more. Language development forms core of this discussion as it is around languages that societies and civilisations have grown.

Language gets interwoven with religion, region, caste, ethnicity, profession, socio-economic status in course of cultural interaction. Urbanisation, industrialisation, and modernisation bring people together in a speed which was hitherto unknown. Delimitation of boundaries of States, Districts and Constituencies tend to separate and unite people in newer combinations, which creates tremendous strain on the structure of society. In migration and immigration change the polity so that demographic balance is disturbed resulting in anxiety among the people about the retention of their language and culture. These have often far reaching consequences on the social, psychological, economic, political and administrative state of peoples and societies. If not properly handled, these may result in communal, ethnic, and language movements which distract people from all development, economic, social or scientific. Under these circumstances, national development will remain a far cry.

National development is more than *block* development, *sectoral* development or *regional* development. The whole is greater than the aggregate of parts. National development presupposes coordinated and concerted development of all *blocks*, *sectors* and *regions*. India is a country of minority languages, small communication zones, diverse faiths and multiple ethnicities. All of them must be encouraged to develop in such a way that each can contribute to the welfare of the nation, and through the nation, to humanity without feeling threatened by any one. By respecting the different, they can grow in concentric circles, intertwining with one another, enriching each other, and be justly proud of belonging to a nation.

' A LANGUAGE FOR ALL '

There is no human being without language. Every human child, unless physically and mentally incapacitated, constantly receives education from Nature and the society constituting its environment. Thus, every normal human being has a vernacular language and a vernacular education adequate for subsistence. It is when planning for development we either deny or underperceive their existence and slogans like 'Education for All' or 'A Language for All' are born.

'A Language for All' presupposes that language, which is the natural possession of individuals and societies, is inadequate for coping with the demands and needs of developing and developed societies. It also presupposes that, within a speech community, the *standard*, and, within a country, the *official*, which is chosen by those who rule or exert influence over others, must be accessible to all constituting the community or the country. 'A Language for All', thus, involves usurpation of vernacular competence, imposition of artificial standards,

controlling the access to that standard and, thus, creating an unfulfillable need, which provides legitimisation to such a slogan.

Every language has the potential to express any complex concept. If languages are unequal, they are so only in terms of their unequal use in different domains, styles, and registers. The term 'developed' qualifying language is a relative term. A written language is considered developed in relation to non-literate language, a literary language is considered developed in relation to non-literary languages, a language, used in scientific, technological and legal domains, is considered more developed than the one not so used. Acceptance of such a notion of development reinforces relative deprivation.

There are other senses in which development imposes handicaps. A language which is used locally is considered undeveloped in comparison to a language or variety used regionally, the regional considered undeveloped in comparison to the one used nationally, and the national considered inadequate in comparison to an international language. Once this notion is accepted, an international language imposed upon a country, even if used by a limited number of people, assumes greater authority than the national language(s). within a country, the one, designated or accepted as national, seeks to exert similar influence over the regional and local varieties by proclaiming itself as the language for all. Thus, languages used at successive stages, from local to the international, are seen to exist in states of perpetual tension, each trying to push its frontier to obliterate the other.

A vernacular approach to human existence rejects the notion of a language for all. It perceives languages in complementation, each expanding the horizon in everwidening concentric circles and thus demanding languages appropriate to context. Recognition of difference and respect for the different form the core value, as a result of which one seeks neither the suppression nor the supplantation of the other, but builds upon the existing potential and link the one with the other. Every language is, then, seen as an integrative link in a chain of languages and language varieties, binding a community or a country in cohesion. Each undeveloped language, then, becomes a weak link in the chain, which poses as a potential threat to national integration.

A language for all is a myth and a misnomer. English is not a language for all the English speakers of the world. In spite of a single label, it is communicationally heterogeneous, and the English speaking regions are diverse in political systems and uneven in economic development. Language, like life, is multiform in expression. It is a fantasy to think that any country of the world would have a single uniform language for all its people. At one time every one talked of the English language. Today everyone talks of the Englishes world.

'A Language for All' engenders an attitude of assimilation. It expects smaller languages to melt and fuse their identity, and assimilate into the one chosen for all. 'Language for all', on the other hand, stands for incorporation of smaller identities under macro labels. Hindi is a good example, which not only was known by different names at different periods of time, but was accepted as a macro label by speakers of different languages as long as their identities were not threatened. Chinese is another example where mutually unintelligible language varieties were incorporated under a single label. When Mandarin becomes the chosen variety and pressure is brought to adopt the Roman script and generalise both for all the Chinese, the contradictions created threaten the integrity of the culture.

Equality of opportunity is sought to be denied to groups while the slogan of equality for all is raised. 'All men are born equal' masks inequality in the same way 'all languages have equal potentiality' masks existing social inequalities due to differential use of languages and differential access to languages of power and privilege. In social sciences, broader the generalisation the more abstract the theory, greater is the danger of the obvious escaping the attention. Language variation is a fact of life. It is the tyranny of theory and the theory of tyranny that leads some to blame others of promoting variation. They are ignorant of their own perception blind spot.

'Language for all' can be a reality only if the languages people use for communication are recognised and conscious efforts are made to use them for informal knowledge and link them with languages of formal knowledge. Standardisation and modernisation, then, will be two way processes and not become manipulated imposition as is the case at present. Education, then, will not propagate a single truth, demand a single loyalty and expect multiple identities to merge in a common culture. Instead, education will encourage expression of traditional wisdom through modern languages, and modernity to interact with tradition through traditional languages with a view to bringing about a partnership between the two for providing equality of opportunity for all, for marching forward in search of knowledge and opportunities.

LANGUAGE LEARNING AS A LOAD: FACT OR FICTION

Assuming many languages a load, one solution is to study only one language at the primary level. What are the implications of such a step? The one language could either be the mother tongue, the state language, or English.

If it is only the mother tongue, then the children are deprived from being introudced to the state language, or English, both of which are likely to be the medium of instruction at different stages.

If it is a state language other than Hindi, then, without an academic strategy to build upon and switch over from the mother tongue, the child is considerably handicapped. He is introduced to English and Hindi only at the post-primary stage.

If it is English, then, the child's introduction to reading and writing of his own mother tongue is deferred by four to six years. Hindi medium in the non-Hindi areas also has the same effect.

If it is decided that only two languages will be taught, then, there could be one of two situations. Either the learners are bilingual in both the languages, or, they khow only one language and learn the other. One of the languages could be the mother tongue, and the other, the state language, for a minority child, or mother tongue and Hindi, or, English, for a child who speaks the dominant state language. In the first case, the child is deprived from being introduced to either Hindi or English for six years including the pre-primary stage and is confronted with both at the post-primary stage. In the second case, if it is state language and English, then, Hindi comes at a much later stage, too late to be of use to help him in the competition for jobs outside his home state. If it is the state language and Hindi, then, English would come too late to be meaningful in pursuing higher education.

Planning in education in a multilingual country is different from planning in education in a predominantly monolingual country. Multilingualism adds to the richness of experience, provides flexibility and plasticity in approaching differences, and joins peoples, places and cultures.

Learning more languages could be considered load or burden only if the teaching is inadequate, outmoded and purposeless. In that case education itself is a load. A bundle of sandalwood carried by a donkey is load. But the same bundle carried by a human being who enjoys the fragrance is not a load. Learning a language always has an instrumental motivation. While learning language, one either learns subjects or peoples and their cultures. Languages, then, would not be mere vehicles of ancient and medieval literature, but of cognition, connation, concept formation and disputation.

Assuming that learning more languages is a load, one could ask for whom more languages are a load? There are four concerned parties : the student, the teacher, the system and the parent. As far as the student is concerned, as long as some learning takes place, education cannot be considered a load. If in a teaching situation no learning takes place, then, the fault lies in method, materials, medium and manner of communication, etc., and may be considered a burden. But this is true of any subject: Mathematics, English, Social Studies and General Science.

A student learns a language as a subject as well as a medium. Ideally as a subject, the child is supposed to study the structure and function of a language, in addition to learning aspects of literature and culture for the expression of which language becomes a major vehicle. Since language is the principal medium of cognition as well as culture transmission, it acts as a major instrument of socialization. When the home language and school language of a child are the same, socialization becomes smooth. But in a multi-culture world, without time and space barrier for knowledge and with multiple locus of discovery and innovation, one language can never be adequate for a child wishing to participate in the 20th century life. More languages provide greater access to wider knowledge and experience. When learning more languages becomes synonymous with the expanding of horizon of knowledge, then, it can hardly be construed as a burden.

As a result of the pseudo-debate on a non-problem like language load, many more important and serious questions relating to the learner have not received due attention. One such problem is the high rate of failure in the mother tongue itself. In many states 30 to 40 per cent failure in the school final examination is in the mother tongue itself. A related issue is the cumulative verbal retardation and development of semi-lingualism in the country. When even in non-verabal ability and in perceptive activity, comparable students show evidence of verbal development retardation, then there is something to be worried about it. But this has seldom been discussed. The problems of development of a cognitive style, understanding of verbal relations, retention of concepts, comprehending and participating in expressive activities under conditions of a medium, which is different from the home language, are not properly understood, and all resultant deficiencies are ascribed to one fictitious cause under the label of language load.

As far as the teacher is concerned, he/she generally teaches one language. There can be and there are two-language teachers as much as there are two-subject teachers. In the primary stage, in many schools a teacher is expected to teach all the subjects. It is true that new discoveries about the structure and function of language suggest newer approaches to the teaching of languages. But so is the case in Mathematics and Physics, Economics and History. The teacher must constantly renew and update himself/herself in respect to content and method in all subjects including language.

In our country, the goals of language learning are ill-defined. Even whatever objective has been listed in the syllabus is seldom adequately reflected in the prescribed text-book. The teacher training curriculum hardly trains the teachers for attaining the objectives in the syllabus of the classes they are supposed to teach. Thus, there is a wide gap between the teacher competence and the curricular demand. In one area of Bombay, out of 79 mother tongue teachers, only 16 could iterate the alphabet correctly. The universities, where graduates are trained as the would-be teachers, indicate a different level of problems. A quick survey in Madras shows that among the students who came to study M.A. with language major and those who come with only compulsory language in B.A., the latter invariably do better. This is true of all languages including English. To what extent, the 'otherwise-rejected' coming to language major classes, and the unimaginative, restrictive and irrelevant language syllabus are responsible for this state of affairs has hardly been examined. When there is such great confusion and colossal ignorance about the process of instruction, there is no wonder that floklore is created and made current regarding 'language load'.

By system is meant here the interrelation between curriculum, the text and reference books, the time allocation, the teacher competence and such other things in the educational set up, which is engaged in teaching-learning. Here also, the interplay of various social compulsions and priorities gives relative emphasis to subjects. For example, at one time humanistic studies were considered a mark of refinement, whereas, at the present time, science and technology are considered more important. In the changed perspective, a parent may consider more of social sciences and humanistic studies a load on the child.

It is often said that the parents know what is good for the child. Do the parents really know? This question has greater relevance in a stratified pluralistic society with a thin upper crust of the educated, and where privileges accrued through education are incompatible with the socio-economic and political structure envisaged. Do the parents know of the theories about the acquisition of language by the child? Do they know how language relates to learning? Even learning/knowing apart such questions which require a great deal of sophistication, do they even know what is meant by *good, fair, satisfactory* entries in the child's marks card with reference to his/her language proficiency?

The individual parents, in their anxiety for their children to participate in the spoil-sharing arrangements of the elitist education, come in conflict with its social purpose. They are blinded to the inequality perpetuated by the existing system and the damage done to the children in the process. Even the educationists, who are products of this system, instead of rectifying the system to ensure just and creative education for all, plead for strengthening the existings ystem and rehabilitating the products with all their inherent weakness. If this is not halted and a sane policy of language use in education is not evolved, the whole education will be a burden on the community.

LANGUAGES FOR THE MASSES AND CHINESE LANGUAGE IN INDIA

Indian linguistic identity is simultaneously partial and plural. With as many as 1,652 mother tongues recorded by the 1961 Census and each of the fifteen major languages recorded in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution marked by different dialects, sociolects, styles and registers, and represented by eight major and a host of minor scripts, the Indian linguistic scene is representative of the multilingual, multiethnic and multicultural Third World. Since the audience of the media is defined by language use, languages of the masses assume special importance not only from the point of view of communication but also for education, administration and nation formation.

The Chinese in India have never been treated as unwelcome immigrants nor has there been any racial conflict in spite of the difference in speech, dress, character and institutions. As is observed by a critic, the Chinese community, 'being too weak to excite antagonism...has met with indifference, the natural and appropriate punishment, or as it considers it, reward, of its nonassimilating disposition. Speakers of Hakka dialects, the Chinese in India are shoemakers, opium sellers, carpenters, cabinet makers, and hogslard manufacturers. They are also dentists, restaurant owners and beauticians.

Both 'languages for the masses' and 'the Chinese languages in India' have implications for one another.

Language for the masses

There are more than 2,000 languages in the world. All languages have their dialects, sociolects registers, and styles, and, therefore, are not homogeneous communication fields. On this ground, many scholars have sought to decry many languages as communication barriers. This is not borne out by facts. Although only standardized varieties of people's languages are used for education, administration and mass communication, the non-standard varieties are also used for oral and sometimes for written communication. All these are variously integrated in different countries of the world. For example, the spoken languages in contact may result in a chain of continuous intelligibility, thereby ensuring communication in each two successive points. The use of different scripts may help maintain a language, as in the case of Sanskrit, and use of genetically related scripts gives a sense of solidarity, as in the case of Indian languages in spite of their affiliation to different language families, or the one script as in the case of English and Chinese. Scripts provide a second fiddle for communication to the literate and accentuate distinctions between the literate and the illiterate. The standard languages in multilingual countries may ensure a degree of elite communication, whereas communication between the elite and the masses suffers in each case. The non-standard varieties show a greater degree of differentiation but permit a degree of autonomy to each group.

Languages of the masses are sources of primary socialization of the human child. Their loss or suppression is bound to create severe emotional strain. And yet, instead of talking about management of diversity, planners often speak about minimising diversity. Such attitudes have resulted in the denial of status to the minority and minor language speakers and consequently to inequality in economic opportunities and political power.

Like air, water and land, language is fundamental to human existence. As better organized societies, by establishing control over land, water and air, deprive human beings born equal of their equality, so is the case with language. In India, out of the 240 million workforce, 40 million are in the organized sector. These 40 million hike their earnings and gain all privileges by virtue of their organized strength. Not to speak of the people at large, even the 200 million in the unorganized sector are exploited by those who are organized. In the world, out of the 2,000 languages, 200 may be in the organized sector, standardized, and used as the ally of power, and hardly 20 of them are in the elite class enjoying privileges at the cost of the many languages of the people. It is because of this that minor and minority languages are coerced to assimilate themselves with the majority, and the mother tongues are under constant threat of annihilation. This explains the death of languages all over the world and the deprivation and decimation of cultural heritages all around. This also explains why French was prohibited by law in Louisiana, why one non-Russian language cannot translate into another non-Russian language without going through Russian, why Spanish rather than Guarani is the official language of Bolivia, and why Hokkien speakers of Singapore are taught Mandarin in order to end up having to use English. Language conflicts all over the world assume new meaning, seen from this perspective. As those in power and privilege are afraid of the uncharted path in which the world will go if principles other than those established for nation building are permitted to operate, similarly languages of power and privilege are afraid of giving recognition to the languages of the people and worried about the new structures that may arise out of the alliance of small cultures and small communication zones. The future of mankind depends on the resolution of problems such as these.

Chinese and Chinese Language in India

A study of the demographic profile of Chinese communities in India shows that the number of Chinese is dwindling. The Chinese who numbered 14,607 according to the 1961 Census had become 10,958 by the 1971 Census. Known as the Chinese or Chini, they are primarily concentrated in Calcutta (West Bengal 7,873) and Bombay (Maharashtra 985). The States of Tamilnadu, Gujarat, and Bihar have more than two hundred, and Uttar Pradesh, Delhi, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Goa, Diu and Daman have more than one hundred. Thus, sociopolitically this community is an insignificant force, both in the context of India and in that of the constituent states.

Indo-Chinese cultural contact and trade relations are very old. Buddhism has been one of the major cultural links between the two countries. It is said that the first Buddhist monastery was established in Loyang in A.D. 66. It was called the White Horse Monastery. The Chinese travellers Fahien (A.D. 399), Hieun Tsang (6th century A.D.), and It-sing, who followed two hundred years later, left valuable records that are helpful in writing the cultural history of different regions as well as of the country as a whole. Hieun Tsang's visit had great academic significance. He even became the head of the famous Nalanda University for a whole. But what is more important, the traditional route between India and China via Upper Burma and Kamarupa had been closed since A.D. 342 and there was need for an alternate route. Hieun Tsang's visit through Laddakh provided this alternate route, though somewhat long and winding.

As regards trade relations, Subhani says, 'regular and steady trade floated through the entire Himalayan range. From Leh in the West to Sadiya in the East, the southern slope of the

Himalayas was dotted with a chain of marts in Laddakh, Lahaul, Spiti, Garhwal, Kumaon, Nepal and Kamarupa where traders across the hump met periodically to barter the products of their countries' (Subhani 1966 : 39-46). The friendly competition between Harsha and Bhaskar Burman in according reception to Hieun Tsang was to strengthen the ties with China in the interest of improved trade relations.

Northeastern India saw the intermixture of Mongoloids, Austroloids, Dravidians and the Aryans between 900 and 600 B.C. Buddha, a Licchavi, is supposed to have belonged to a Mongoloid tribe (Gogoi 1968 : 37). Buddhism, which embodies in itself the Tai democratic traditions, represents a Tai-Hindu cultural synthesis.

Mahesh Joshi (1981 : 10-11), basing his facts on the History of Civilization of Assam (Choudhury 1961) writes,

> 'between 6th century B.C. and 2nd century A.D., there was close communication and even greater mobility among the peoples of Yunnan, Tibet, Thailand, Magadha, Burma and Ceylon through Assam. In fact, during this period there was a great southward movement of the Tai people of Central China. Emperor Shi-Wang Ti destroyed their- traditional home by his conquests. In 214 B.C. he even abolished the study of Confucius. He burst upon the Tai people as an avalanche and demolished their entire socio-economic structure. .During the next two centuries the Tais moved into five directions. Those who migrated to Thailand are known as Thais ; those who went south are regarded as Laos ; those who somehow managed to hold ground in Yunnan are called Pais ; those who dashed to Burma came to be known as Shans and those who slipped into India are known as Ahoms'.

It may thus be noted that the history of Chinese immigrants who came to northeastern India several hundred years before

Christ and established themselves by vanquishing the Austric groups living in that territory has been discussed in fragments by various scholars (Barua 1951). The second wave of immigrants resulting from the Indo-Chinese invasion are represented by various groups in the Garo, Lushai and Naga Hills of Manipur. The most important among them were the Bodos, who built strong kingdoms and left their imprint on the culture of the entire area until they were hemmed in from the eas by the Ahoms and from the west by the Aryans (Barua 1951 : 17). Scholars have debated whether the present-day Assamese are "unmistakenly Mongoloid" (Risley 1969) or "modified Mongoloid" (Elwin 1944). Whatever it may be, there is no denying the fact that the bulk of the indigenous population of the valley and the hills carry unmistakable traits of the assimilation of the Chinese, the Tibeto-Burmese, the Shans, the Austrics and the Aryans.

Although overseas Chinese spread from Peru to the Philippines, and are concentrated more in Southeast Asia (Deshpande 1960), their number in South Asia is insignificant despite the extensive contact. What is still more interesting is the absolute low profile and anonymity the community has maintained in India. Although the community has engaged itself in the restaurant business, dentistry, shoemaking, hogslard manufacturing and trading, and has prospered, it has made little impact in the general cultural scene in India. The KMT policy of "where there are Chinese there is China" has not succeeded in pulling them any closer than the communist government's Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. In any case, since the People's Republic accepted the policy of non-interference in the affairs of their compatriots abroad, the overseas Chinese were free to follow their own destiny.

The three groups of Chinese in Calcutta, the ship carpenters, the shoemakers and the hogslard manufacturers, after periods of fierce competition and social ostracization of one another finally were tied up in matrimonial bonds. The social origin of all these groups is shrouded in mystery. Whether a

Cantonese trader faced with the prospect of losing his property in reprisal came to India and established the first settlement in Calcutta, or a drunken shipmate, left by mistake, decided to settle down and formed the nucleus of the Calcutta colony, or some Hakka businessman laid the foundation of the colony at Calcutta is a matter of idle speculation in the absence of definitive records. Why the lone Chinese temple built at Calcutta in the early days should have chosen the war God Akuanti as the deity defies explanation. Whatever it may be, with the establishment of the temple, there is no denying that the Chinese became a community in the true sense of the word.

Today the Chinese in Calcutta can be proud of three or more temples and three Chinese schools up to the sixth standard each. There are no such schools elsewhere in India. The Chinese in Calcutta claim to be descendants of Hakka, Cantonese, or Hupa sepakers. There are few Indian-Chinese marriages. Whenever such marriages take place they are against the wishes of the parents. When the father is a non-Chinese, a Nepali, or a Bhotia, he is lax about the socialization of children. Mixed marriages are to be seen in such homes. The Chinese, in addition to the traditional trades listed above, have taken to setting up beauty parlors and saloons.

During the years between the formation of the People's Republic of China and the consolidation of the communist government, mainland China succeeded in creating a sense of pride in the overseas Chinese about the communist government's achievements even though it may not have succeeded in earning their loyalty. A study of Malayan insurgency and the Indonesian-Chinese exchanges on the issue of Chinese immigrants clearly shows that neitner is mainland China interested in creating and supporting overseas Chinese insurgency nor is it interested in trying its own bilateral interests to the issue of the policy of any state toward the overseas Chinese. Under these circumstances, it is futile to search for political implications of the insignificant Chinese presence in India.

Most Chinese in India are Hakka speakers. There has been no study of the Chinese languages in India nor of the pattern of their language use. However, a children's song that was used by non-Chinese children to chide their Chinese playmates in Calcutta refers to their use of pidgin English:

Chin chin Chinaman
Muchie muchie
Sad me afraid
Brokee broke
Shutty shutty shop

and excerpts collected from the writings of the English of the nineteenth century about the Chinese in Calcutta further supports this conclusion of the existence of a pidgin.

(a) "Pray excuse me, what may be your honourable surname?"
"My insignificant denomination is Cha."
"Meaning a pig."

(b) "Why for you no bring your wifey?"
"How can do?"

(c) "The chopsticks on the table are "making look see."

(d) "Oh, it would be too muchy 'spence makey bury."
(If old men are prematurely killed.)

Polite verbal exchanges among the Chinese and the English, as is reflected in the above statements, is neither guided by familiarity, sincerity, nor reciprocity. The Chinese had to take recourse to an indirectness in expressions which helped them maintain their distance. This indirectness in expressions, is dictated by their mother tongue constructions, conventions of literalness among other processes of pidgin formation and inadequate mastery of English by both the Chinese and Indians. Culture maintaining processes also help in this.

A sociolinguistic study of the Chinese language in India is bound to yield valuable insights about the language as well as social integration. There is marked identity between the overseas Chinese and overseas Indian populations, with regard to maintenance of language, culture and religious identities. The link with the very remote past is not very important whereas the link with the recent past or rather historical past, traces of which are preserved in language models, culture and religious identities is very important, and zealously graded. Political institutions and trends in the mainland will be watched with interest but are not allowed to interfere with the current status of the community, a little sympathy but no preference and no involvement. In India, the desire to retain and maintain the Chinese identity is matched equally by the desire of other communities to allow them retain and maintain their identity, as a continuation of the already existing mosaic. Principles of accommodation and adjustments in all walks of life along with a silent insistence on separate identity are a model for others to follow. Languages for the masses, and languages of the masses are thus preserved and beneficially canalised.

PROMOTION AND MAINTENANCE OF ENGLISH IN INDIA : IMPLICATIONS FOR A CROWN COLONY

It is enshrined in the Constitution of India that primary education to every child would be imparted in the mother tongue. Childhood learning is learning attitudes, connections, skills and information. If experience is a precondition to abstraction and generalisation, the mother tongue is not only the primary experiential language, but is the language which builds the ability to accept and understand generalisation. Mother tongue provides rootedness in one's eco-culture, anchors one in a social group through labelling and extends one's intellectual and emotional range. It is thelaunching pad for further education. Any language as a bridge to further learning enriches experience, but as a substitiute to mother tongue induces alienation, anomie and culture perception blind spots. This substitution can be seen at two levels. The Hong Kong parallel of Cantonese being sought to be substituted by Putonghua is the Indian situation of Bhojpuri or Maithili being substituted by Standard Hindi in school. The second is common to both India and Hong Kong, where the major languages are substituted by English. The low literacy and mediocre educational performance in the Hindi area can be attributed to both mother tongue substitution at the elementary schools and near elimination of English at the secondary level. Unless the education system assumes responsibility for linking the home language of the child with the school language, the child would cease to be creative and innovative. When a non-English child gets an all-English education, she not only does not find words for common plants and flowers, birds and beasts, and changing moods of nature in English and thus lacks balanced relationship with the environment, but also lacks ability in understanding and expressing native myths and symbols. This results in emotional sterility and cultural deprivation.

It is important to examine at this stage a statement like given the enormous variability in language socialization which children may receive at home, it would be a mistke to talk about the notion "language at home" as if it were a homogeneous and monolithic entity and to compare it with "school language". It is surprising that such a naive statement comes from Suzanne Romaine who has otherwise many sensible things to say about language acquisition. In the same sense one can speak of the English language in spite of its variability, one can speak of the 'language at home', whether it is a conglomerate of dialects, sociolects and styles, or different languages used in complementation in different experiential contexts. The changes in the contexts of interaction at home and at school, the changes from the child as the motivator of language use to teacher as the motivator of language use, the culture sensitivity of home and the culture neutrality of the school, the extension and limitation in the use of different varieties of one or more languages at school, the playful and authoritarian correction at home and school play a role in the linguistic socialization of the child. In the total context of acquisition of languages of a child, if learning and teaching are not complementary, if home language and school language are not complementary, if languages at different levels of education and maturation are not complementary, then it leads to a great deal of psycho-social stress. If the initial language is derided and denied, the resultant attitude towards mother tongue and the subsequent languages affect not only creativity and innovativeness but also the network of social relations adversely. In multilingual societies, therefore, linkage assumes greater importance than dominant monolingual societies. In the first instance, often variation is considered a burden and a handicap, whereas, in the latter instance, variation is underperceived. The net result on the child is the same though there may be difference in degree.

India has to cope with 1652 mother tongues, between 200 and 700 languages belonging to four language families and a host of writing systems. One of its greatest strengths, however, is that India is a single linguistic, sociolinguistic and semantic area, and all the scripts, except Roman and Perso-Arabic, belong to a single family. The three-language formula, as a strategy developed as a consensus, has to be linked with the mother tongue/home language in one direction and with the classical language(s) and foreign language(s) on the other. No matter how difficult it may appear to education management experts, the cultural matrix is as rich as it is complex and is a challenge to the ingenuity of those who aspire to manage human destiny.

India is also the beneficiary of dual heritage like all the developing countries with a colonial past. Unfortunately, vested interests have sought to project English as adversary to other Indian languages which stifle the growth of Indian languages. Many proponents of English do not see any role for Indian languages in the modernisation of the country, while many opponents of English do not see any significant role for English in future India. Such polarisation of attitudes has resulted in the drop of standard of both Indian languages and

English in many cases. Indians have established their ownership over English and use the brand of English called Indian English. Indian teachers of English are accepted as class-room models elsewhere and there is no longer a need to import English teachers from England on a large scale. English has not only been accepted as the Associate Official Language of the Union, but also the language of High Courts and the Supreme Court of India. Therefore, there is neither the question of banishing English from India nor dilute its standard. The question is one of determining the domains of its use and ensuring that it supplements the Indian languages and not take over their functions. It is important to know that English as supplement to the Indian languages is a source of strength, whereas as substitute it is a source of debilitation.

In Hong Kong, there is a need to redefine the roles of both English and Chinese. Planners must, however, hasten slowly to ensure that English remains the important auxiliary language of Hong Kong and the heritage of English becomes an asset and advantage not only to Hong Kong but also to their mainland China.

In countries like India, teaching of English at the primary level not only undermines the culture of all groups, but, by weakening the mother tongue base, it builds disabilities in the system which undermines education itself. With 5.04 lakhs of primary schools, having over 1213 lakhs of students, and about 40 lakhs of teachers, it is inconceivable that English could be taught to all at any time. The net result is that while a small number of good English schools continues to add to the growing educational inequality, the large number of non-standard English schools continue to perpetuate mediocrity. By creating an elite which values English more than its mother tongue, it weakens one's identification with the nation and leads one to search for an English-speaking homeland outside one's national boundaries. India is committed to mother tongue promotion in different regions and promotion of English as language of elite communication within the country and window to the wide world for purposes of knowledge and cultural communication. What needs to be done is to provide good English education for lesser number of years with good materials, updated methods and trained teachers. Unless this is done, Indian education system will continue to produce a large body of mediocres without ability to either respond to the national aspirations or fulfil their cherished life styles. This has implications for Hong Kong, as there are many things in common between the two countries.

Hong Kong is on the cross roads.

Is Mandarin to hold reducing native varieties to indigenous groups' home use or condemning them to extinction ?

Is English to take hold giving Mandarin junior partners status and make other varieties to disappear ? Burney Report as far back as 1935 found "the pupils" English unimpressive and then Chinese well behind that of their contemporaries in China. At the present time "English has more prestige than Chinese in most public domains in Hong Kong".

Is a multilingual strategy to be adopted recognising the cultural identity of various linguistic groups, using local languages for local administration and/or mass communication, and Mandarin and English for international communication ?

Answer to these questions would have serious consequences for cultural cohesiveness of Chinese communities and political and economic development of the Hong Kong State.

Hong Kong is a cosmopolitan society, heterogeneity in culture. Its complex multilingualism has a parallel with India. Although Indian languages belong to four families, all Indian scripts belong to one family. In Hong Kong, where almost 98 per cent speak Cantonese, it is the *bai hua*, the modern standard written Chinese, which is the binding force among mutually unintelligible Chinese languages. In spite of the common ancestry, different scripts substain different identities in India in the same way as different spoken varieties of Chinese sustain different identities among Chinese communities in Hong Kong in spite of the common writing system.

In Hong Kong there are languages of Indian and Malay ancestry in the same way India has languages belonging to Tibeto-Chinese ancestry. Malays, however, come as guest workers partly to provide cheap labour and partly to fulfil the need of English teachers in middle class Chinese homes and do not have the status of language in residence as the Indian language. As Hindi is the de facto link language among the common populace, and English among the educated elite in India, Chinese and English have parallel role and function in Hong Kong. That English has a higher prestige than *Putonghua* of Hindi in both places is nothing to be surprised of. The international backing for English, neglect of the mother tongue, the engineered adversary position among local languages, and, above all, protection of the vested interest give this edge to English. Territorial and linguistic homogeneity are propounded by western theorists as a prerequisite to nationhood and to modernity, which contribute to the status of English above the indigeneous languages.

It must be recognised that those who speak against the mother tongue and those who speak against English sail on the same boat. Both, in their own ways, reinforce English. Those who speak against mother tongue and for *Putonghua* in Hong Kong also reinforce English. If English is the language of rank, status and wealth at the national level, then why *Putonghua* ? In fact this is the argument against Hindi by both regional language and English chauvinists in India.

The Indian language speakers and speakers of other minority languages need not be treated as second class citizens in Hong Kong. They have as much right to maintain their language and culture as the Hokkien or Hakka speakers and they have as much right to *bai hua* as the others. Education system must assume responsibility of bridging minority language education with Chinese language education. From the published reports it appears that the Chinese government is hedging about the status of South Asians in Hong Kong and the British have offered passports without a guarantee of citizenship. Such uncertainty will not only weaken the social fabric, but is bound to hurt the economic interest of Hong Kong to which they have made a small but significant contribution.

Every individual is part of a body politic which extends in concentric circles both in terms of social and communicational dynamics. Since language is vital to human group formation, and communication brings out the most distinctly human aspects of life and living, it is the moving force of the body politic which ranges from the individual to the world community. It is important to know that there is no level jumping in communication excepting in the spiritual sense. With modern gadgets one may bypass the neighbour and communicate with the distant, but it is bound to have deleterious effects both on the individual and the world, as it distorts identities.

Mother tongue provides rootedness in one's culture; while acquainting one with the world, it provides localisation and name to objects and events. It helps establish balanced relationship between the environment, the community and the child, through the process of labelling. Loosening of mother tongue loyalty not only develops a sense of alienation, but distances one from the values the culture holds dear to it. Take for example, words like *Wai Sun* 'Mother's brother's son', *Wai Sun niu* 'Mother's brother's daughter', *biao ge* 'Mother's sister's son', *biao jie* 'Mother's sister's daughter', *tang ge* 'father's brother's son', *tang jie* 'father's brother's daughter'' *zhi zi* 'father's sister's son', *zhi nu* 'father's sister's daughter, in a Chinese dialect. All these, when replaced by a simple English word *cousin*, not only affects perception of familial ties but deculturises the anglicised Chinese.

The myths and symbols available in the mother tongue become inaccessible and, with the mother tongue, the loyalty to the mother land also is slowly eroded. The English elite in India finds a greater affinity with the English speaking world outside the country today than his/her village. Such an elite, produce of an all English education, not only cannot appreciate traditional Indian dance and music, art and architecture, which make use of myths, symbols and tradition lores, they also cannot be creative in their own language or even English. If Hong Kong does not learn from the Indian experience and promotes English at the cost of mother tongues, then it will result in the production of what T'sou and Lord call 'cultural Eunuchs'.

Hong Kong can ill afford to lose English and the benefit accruing from it. But, if like Singapore, it follows the path of annihilation of the mother tongues, symbolic propagation of Mandarin and promotion of English, then it is bound to move towards becoming a dominantly monolingual English speaking state. It is, therefore, necessary that it develops a strategy of education which would permit micro and macro identities to complement one another. For this purpose it must adopt a three-language formula which is emerging as a consensus in multilingual countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America: The formula would dictate a strategy of bilingual primary education where beginning with one's mother tongue one would make a transfer to the modern standard Chinese by the end of the primary stage. Mother tongues thereafter may be offered as additional optional subjects if need be. English should be introduced at the post primary stage only, after standard modern Chinese bilingualism with the mother tongue is established. Languages, then, would be complementing and not contesting one another. Formal education will provide equality of opportunity to Cantonese, Hindi and Malay speakers to study modern written Chinese so that they may participate in national reconstruction as equal partners.

Today the Chinese are spread all over the world. American, Canadian and Indian Chinese are Chinese in culture, but citizens of the countries whicn they have adopted as their abode. They have enriched the cultures of the adopted countries in the same way non-Chinese have enriched the Chinese culture. Maintenance of Cantonese in Hong Kong will strengthen the golden bond between Hong Kong and Mainland China. Its non-maintenance will weaken the bond. An education system based on the solid foundation of early mother tongue education and provision for linking first, second and further languages would provide competence both in standard modern written Chinese and English which will be a source of strength for China. Weakening in emphasis on early mother tongue education is bound to lead to lack of competence both in standard Chinese and English, which not only will result in mediocrity, but remain a vulnerable outpost for China. Only by adopting a pluralistic approach in seeking a solution to its own problems can China aspire to claim leadership role in multilingual and pluricultural Asia, Africa and Latin America, and Hong Kong be proud of its ancestry and look forward to a pride of place in the community of Chinese speaking territories.

THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE IN THE RADICALISATION OF EDUCATION

Language in the Context of Formal Education

A change from subjugation to self-rule, from a privileged to an egalitarian, and from an elitist to a people oriented society presupposes radicalisation of education which shapes thought and action in a society. Whether the country would adopt a capital intensive or a labour intensive approach to economy, whether it would adopt the technology of mass production or appropriate technology for all round development would even depend upon the polity sought to be created through the education system of the country. In India education system has been elitist in character. The fact that during the 30 years from the first plan to the fifth, allocation to the primary education has fallen from 56 per cent to 28 per cent and higher education has risen from 8 per cent to 15 per cent of the total allocation to education and primary education has grown threefold whereas higher education has grown sixfold goes to prove this point. Even within this over-all picture, 85 per cent drop out and stagnation between class I-V and 70 per cent of illiteracy in the country goes to prove that the current education system creates and nurtures an elitist society.

In a multilingual, multicultural society, language can be a source of weakness as it may divide and isolate one group from another. It can also be a source of strength, representing diverse manifestation of one underlying culture. Forced on an unmotivated learner, language like any other subject, can be a burden, but when acquired, it enriches the mind beyond any individual subject, as it provides better understanding of the people and the universe using it. Language, being emotive and related to the question of identity, can stir human groups easily and therefore, language planning needs to be considered an important context of economic planning. Examples of African countries, Indonesia, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Malaya in Asia, and even the language discord in Canada is sufficient to show that in multilingual developing countries where there are competing demands on scarce resources, language can be exploited as an instrument for furthering group interest and thus determining the composition of the dominant polity.

When Macaulay, in utter contempt of India's past, wrote in his famous Minutes of 2nd February 1835 his judgement in favour of English, dismissing the claims of Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian and other major Indian languages, he laid the foundation of an elitist society alienated from the people. In ancient times when Sanskrit became a preserve of the priests of courts, the popular movement led to the simplification of the class restricted Sanskrit code and development of Pali, Prakrit and the modern Indian Languages which permitted free flow of communication within the society. With acceptance of English, this natural process was arrested. Any simplification of this code at the most was called 'Babu English', 'Butler English' or 'Baburchi English', which further lowered the self-image of the stigmatised 'Indian English' speakers. Most of those who fulfilled Macaulay's dictum of being 'Indian by birth but English in manners, morals and taste', gained a passport to a new world, but they were alienated from their own. In the ancient times people may have been illiterates, but they were not uneducated. In the rural community centres people could participate in discourses on abtruse philosophy. But with Indian languages losing the knowledge base and English becoming the only vehicle of knowledge and being inaccessible to them, the vast majority of illiterate people were made uneducated.

Literacy is essentially a language related competence. It is most unfortunate that, in this vital sector, all activities are conducted without any reference to the existing linguistic expertise. In a country with about 700 languages, each with its dialects, styles, registers and competing standards, present a formidable challange for literacy. With ten major writing systems and a host of minor ones, with the challange of reducing the large bulk of unwritten languages into writing, the problem of traditional spelling and current pronunciation in languages having long tradition of writing, and the problem of languages using more than one script, the task of literacy becomes all the more difficult. One is confronted with the problem of instant communication coming in conflict with the standardisation and modernisation of the language. Unless literacy efforts take into account these twin focuses, they are bound to fail. Unless literacy is functional and aims at creating language competence to a level which will not permit the learner to lapse into illiteracy the problem is bound to elude solution. Since non-formal education has to be resorted to for adult education, this question will be discussed further in that context.

The problem of literacy is linked with that of primary education as the 80 per cent drop-out is a major source of the 70 per cent illiteracy in the country. Primary education through the mother tongue is a constitutional obligation in India. It is also accepted by educationists, psychologists and linguists that the interest of the child is the centre of primary curriculum which must ensure identity affirmation, harmonious cognitive growth and lay the foundation for learning for individual, community and national development. In a multilingual society with multiple streams of mother tongues and home languages different from school languages, it is all the more important that the linguistic experience a child brings to the school be considered as the foundation for building further competencies in language communication and cognition. Unfortunately there is little awareness of this problem and consequently little research and investigation in language as a factor in usequal opportunities, drop out, wastage and stagnation in education.

Desheriyev, the famous Russian Linguist and Educationist, says that language is the content as well as medium of primary education. The interdependence of language skills and mathematical skills is recently underlined by the UNESCO report on Interactions between Linguistics and mathematical Education (1974). When a child is asked, say, about a set of red and blue balls he is confronted with the ambiguity of language. The knowledge, whether in a lot of-balls some are blue and some are red, or, all are partially blue and partially red, is necessary for defining 'set'. It will thus be seen that the child must fully understand the decay, the inaccuracy, the ambiguity as well as the social acceptability or otherwise a language acquires in usage. Making a distinction between philosophy and thinking and talking about the latter, Martin Heidegger says, ''And it demands a new accuracy for language rather than the invention of new terms, as I once thought ; on the contrary it demands a return to the original contents of our own constantly decaying language'' (Heideggar 1977). Research has shown that language competence is cumulative and any weakness in the early childhood language experience shows up in the higher stages of education.

The general reluctance to recognise dialects, tribal and other minority languages has led to reluctance of education planners to consider providing an academic strategy of switch over from the home language to the school language. Besides girls, there is no wonder that this sector accounts for the largest drop out, stagnation and wastage. Even if minority mother tongue primary schools are on the increase, lack of language planning is likely to make generations of students carry the burden of inequality. If the children are given monolingual education all through the primary stage and confronted with the school language which is the medium of higher education only at the post-primary stage, then they are bound to remain unequal to those whose home language is the same as the school language. Unless a strategy of bilingual primary education of the transfer model providing for a planned phased switch over from home language to school language is adopted for the primary education for all those whose home language is different, standard of education is bound to be affected adversely.

Language teaching is equally erratic in secondary and post-secondary stages. First of all there is no awareness of the difference between a language as a subject and a language as medium. Teaching a language, teaching about a language and teaching through a language are not clearly distinguished. Secondly, the notions of mother tongue, second language and foreign language are ill defined and the curricular objectives are never clearly stated. Thirdly, skill oriented language teaching is foreign to the teachers. Fourth, in the name of language only ancient and medieval literature is taught. There is no place for conceptual prose in any literature course. Fifth, there is little research into the area of transition from a purely language based competence to the development of literacy sensibility. Sixth, the interdisciplinary bearing of sociology, psychology, pedagogy, linguistics, stylistics, etc., are not brought to the attention of the teachers as well as learners. Seventh, although the mutlilingual character of the country makes it contingent on its citizens to learn many languages, even the three-language formula is considered a burden by some. Eighth, even those who accept the three-language formula are ambivalent about their role. As Julian

Dakin rightly points out "Until an effective demarcation of the roles of Hindi, English and the regional languages has been generally accepted, attitudes to language will remain the last and most serious obstacle to the full deployment of education in the interest of national development" (Dakin, Julian 1968).

It is most unfortunate that those who have vested interest in the elitist education keep up the group tension by juxtaposing Hindi, English and the other major Indian languages against one another. It must, first of all, be understood that the role of Hindi, English and Indian languages is complementary and not competitive. The 4 per cent population of India who, in some form or other, are exposed to some variety of English enjoy rank, status and wealth bestowed by this education and are therefore, naturally eager to perpetuate it. The other language speakers sometimes join Hindi in wresting some of the privileges from English and sometimes join against Hindi lest it may appropriate to itself all the privileges. This fear is unfounded as by defining the domains of these languages one can see that both Hindi and English are link languages at different levels and the cultivation of both is in the best national education interests.

Many arguments are advanced for and against Hindi. Without going into the details, it may suffice here to say that it is the language of widest communication in India where both the Union as well as States are multilingual. As in any multilingual state the dominant state language stands as the identity token for that state, in the multilingual nation Hindi stands as the national identity token. That the Hindi area spread over six north-Indian states provides better economic opportunities to a non-Hindi speaker in comparison to any other non-Hindi language which is restricted to one state needs no elaboration. That in any scheme of education in the country Hindi must find a place, therefore, needs no further justification. However, the rationale of a three language formula with Hindi as a necessary component will be examined a little later.

There is a great demand for English education in the country today. This demand comes from many sources. There are few who believe in the civilising effect of English education and fewer who believe in its ability in liberating the mind from the traditional superstitions and prejudices. There are many who believe with Lord William Bentinck that English is necessary for administrative convenience in this multilingual country. They support this argument with the pseudo-academic argument of equal disadvantage for all. That the socially weaker sections who do not have education in their families for generations are handicapped more than the privileged sections is completely ignored by them. Most people, however, demand English education as a passport to better opportunities, if not in this country at least abroad. This group would rather opt for creating cheap educated labour for foreign countries than developing an educated polity for this country. Unfortunately as the political and educational system is manned by people with elitist orientation little effort is made to give good mother tongue education with a good second-language-English course and one is extolled at the cost of the other. Even within the country a second class English graduate is preferred to a first class Tamil or Bengali graduate for jobs.

Another demand for English comes from linguistic minorities. Partly it is done due to a combination of lack of language planning and uniform educational leadership. When the Kannadigas start English medium schools in Tamilnadu in the name of protection of minority rights, it falls under this category. The other is a combination of vested interest with pseudo-academic commitments. The stand of the Anglo Indian Association of India falls in this category. It is most unfortunate that the Association which represents Anglo-Indians whose mother tongue is English, instead of fighting for the protection and enrichment of English as the mother tongue of a minority group, has confused the issues and identified itself with those who demand English education for the other Indian language mother tongue children.

There is an unthinking acceptance of the myth in the country that the longer English is taught, the better proficiency is attained by the learner. Even educated persons who should know that in the absence of trained teachers, improved teaching materials, and appropriate methods merely by teaching a language longer one cannot attain proficiency, are taken by the myth. In a State like Karnataka or Andhra Pradesh if English is to be started from the 3rd standard about one lakh teachers will be needed. Not to speak of the state in the whole country there are only ten institutions for training English teachers. There is no wonder that after learning English for 12 years the students when asked 'how are you?', reply 'we are in the well'. First of all primary English education to children from homes where there is no English leads to rote learning. Secondly a clarity of concepts is affected adversely. Thirdly, bad English education at the early stages involves learning wrong English at the later stages and thus slows down learning. What is worse is that while good English teachers are not available, people expect good science and humanities teachers who are also good English teachers.

It is often argued that no Indian language can match the output of English books and therefore, English Education is superior. It must be understood that the vested interest of the entire English speaking world is behind the production of English books. In the Indian context, the frequency and range of use of English books in comparison with books in Indian languages is so low that the number of books produced becomes meaningless. In any case, if English is the window to the world of knowledge, then in the Indian context it should not be learnt to know merely the foreign culture, but learnt as a medium of expressing and interpreting the diverse culture obtaining in this country, and to translate knowledge obtained through English into ones own language. As English is taught more like a mother tongue than a second language in this country, English education, in spite of the demand, remains irrelevant to the society. In the midst of these irrational demands, the need for implementing a good second-language English teaching programme is submerged. English is part of the rich cultural heritage in this country. It has to be acquired by all those who aspire for higher education. But by thinly plastering it all over the system and making it a fake passport to jobs rather than a true one to knowledge, a kind of antagonism with other Indian languages sought to be built by the vested interests which hurts the education system in general and the cause of English in particular.

It is in this context that use of Indian languages other than English as media of higher education is to be viewed. It is often argued that acceptance of 14 media in higher education would result in the inhibition of mobility of students and thus promote insularism. It is also that this will lead to the balkanisation of the country. The various committees of the University Grants Commission at different times have pleaded for English and against the Indian languages. The Report of English Review Committee (1965) holds that "the regional languages have not yet developed to a point where they can replace English as a total of knowledge and as a medium of communication" (p. 33). The Report on Standards of University Education (UGC 1955) further asserts that a change of media from English to regional languages "is justified only when the University is raising standards by doing so" (p. 71). Lack of books in Science and Technology and lack of technical terminology if cited as the principal drawback for unsuitability of Indian languages as tools of knowledge and even of communication.

Without going into the details of a case for Indian languages (Pattanayak 1974), it can be pointed out that the multiplicity of languages has at no time been a hindrance for emotional integration of this country. In spite of hundreds of languages belonging to four language families spoken by different ethnic groups, India has become one Linguistic Area. As regards mobility of teachers and students is concerned, at the worst, one may compare India to Europe. In Europe mobility of teachers and students has not at all been adversely affected and both students and teachers are attracted to Universities which have established reputation for standards of education. Today in India, more effort is spent in catching up with the theories of the English-speaking West rather than doing original work. Unless language education is given due attention right from the primary stage and Indian languages regain their knowledge base supplemented by a strong second language English education, the standards of education are unlikely to develop. Books are written in subjects only if there is a need. The need is artificially plugged by making English the sole medium of higher education. Once the need is created by making these languages tools of knowledge and communication books are bound to be written. The same thing is true of technical terms. Technical terms in languages develop through usage. Heat, Light, Field, Resistance, Velocity, Demand, Supply, Market, Money, technical terms in Physics and Economics, are the oft-used words in the English language. They have assumed technical meanings through usage. Even if technical terms are borrowed, their assimilation would need an understanding of the natural process of language. A lot of uninformed debate could be avoided if academic solutions were sought to academic issues. The fact that 52 per cent of the Indian universities have already switched over to one or the other Indian language medium, and therefore books in those languages, though inadequate, are being produced, should abate unnecessary recriminations.

Language curriculam, as it stands today, does not equip learners to manipulate through that language at higher stages of learning. Therefore in order to bridge the gap between the language acquisition at the end of the school stage and the language requirement at the beginning of college entrance it is necessary to offer Bridge Courses emphasising skill based teaching of conceptual prose. Such Bridge Courses could be redundant once the much needed curriculum reform takes place.

However, acceptance of the ideas of a Bridge Course as remedial measure to bridge the gap between the language learnt and the language needed for special purpose will go a long way in bringing about curricular changes.

Why Three Languages

By now it must have been apparent that a case is being made for the study of three languages. It is necessary to critically examine the rationale for this. In a compex, multilingual and multi-ethnic society both policies and solutions are interdependent. For example, one cannot speak of a policy about language use in education without taking into account the language use in administration and in mass communication. Further, a solution to a problem in education cannot be sought which will ultimately harm cognitive development of the individual and larger interests of the country.

Three major views are expressed today in regard to language use in education. One view pleads for a one-language formula. It is argued that India is an agricultural country, the pace of life is relatively static and 90 per cent of the rural population have hardly any need to move out of their locality. Therefore, one language is sufficient for the bulk of people in this country. People expressing such views are further divided as to whether they plead for the mother tongue, the State language, Hindi or English. The view itself is essentially static, parochial, anti-development, anti-national. It condemns people to perpetual bondage to the existing state of affairs.

A second view pleads for a two language formula. It is argued that in the Hindi region a person can mange with Hindi and English. So is the case of the Tamil region where a person can manage with Tamil and English. There is no need to learn a third language. Thus, this group pleads for Hindi and Tamil with English as the second language in each case. Some people propagating this view would plead in favour of Tamil and Hindi, with another Indian language rather than English as the second language. However, this group seems to be in the minority at present.

This view is based more on the fear for and opposition against Hindi and English respectively. For example, while one group pleads against the imposition of Hindi, the other group pleads agains imposition of English and thus both have reached the consensus of two languages. This view also suffers from another serious limitation. While those who plead for the local and international forget the national, those pleading for local and national forget the international. Both the groups forget that the silent community of scholars cut across boundaries of the local and the national and exist at all the three levels. The two language-formula further seems to be based on an imposition of restriction on learning rather than any rational need of the people.

It is often assumed that the motivation for learning language other than one's own is instrumental. In the quarrel about which language is more useful for whom, which language is more easy or difficult for whom, which language is more or less advantageous for whom, all those who argue have lost sight of the integrative need of learning about the various people constituting the nation. It is humanly impossible to learn all the 1652 streams of mother tongues, for everybody. However, it is not impossible to learn one language other than one's own for identifying oneself with an entity which is larger than one's community or state. It is, therefore, assumed that there is a great need to learn another Indian language other than one's identity token, the mother tongue or the State language for integrative purpose. Each language speaker has an option to choose the language which he needs to learn. Assuming that the three-language formula as is envisaged today is accepted as the basis of argument and the Hindi speakers learn one of the Indian languages preferably a South Indian language for integrative purpose and the non-Hindi speakers learn any Indian langauge other than their own preferably Hindi for the same purpose, the following consequences will flow. The non-Hindi speakers learning Hindi would have an advantage over the Hindi speakers as to the instrumentality of the language of their choice. even those non-Hindi speakers learning Hindi will have a distinct advantage over those learning another Indian language. In other words while the language learnt by the Hindi speakers will be of doubtful instrumental value and an Indian language other than Hindi learnt by the non-Hindi speaker will be of limited instrumental value, Hindi to the non-Hindi speakers will be of much greater instrumental value. In spite of this apparent advantage to the non-Hindi speakers the problem arises because integrative motivation as driving factor behind the three-language formula has been lost sight of most persons entering the fray.

The objective conditions existing in the country require establishing hierarchies of language use in different domains and contexts. Each state in India reflects the national multiplicity of language and cultures in its microcosm. In a state like Tamilnadu, where there are significant Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam and Sourashtri speakers, they have to learn the State language Tamil, both for integrative as well as instrumental purpose. Even if a Toda or a Badaga, speaker of a minority language, or a Padayachi, speaker of a non-standard dialect, could probably manage his livelihood within his community speaking his own tongue, still it would be necessary for him to learn the state language. Similarly, within a nation even if somebody may not have any need to get out of his state, he would be better off learning a language other than his own for purposes of establishing an identity larger than his own. The realities of life are such that if an Oriya learns Telugu he can operate in Andhra Pradesh, with Bengali he can operate in Bengal, but some variety of Hindi he can operate in the whole of the country. Therefore, the need for learning Hindi for the non-Hindi speaking areas can be justified both from integrative as well as instrumental motivations. It is neither to acknowledgo the supremacy of the Hindi speakers, the Hindi language, nor to accept a second class citizenship in a nation dominated by Hindi that the non-Hindi speaker is to learn Hindi.

In Tamilnadu, leading Tamil scholars with Telugu as their home language have strengthened and contributed to the purist movement in Tamil. The PSG family started first Tamil medium in Colleges. All of them are Telugus settled in Tamilnadu. Ramaswami Naiker, who was a Kannadiga, was the father of the Dravidian movement. This is not an isolated phenomenon. Masti, a Timil, Bendre, a Marathi, have contributed to the development of modern Kannada literature as much as Radhanath Ray a Bengali and Madhusudan Rao, a Marathi, have contributed to the development of modern Oriya literature. If in the name of anti-Hindi and anti-English movement, this inherent integrative factor is forgotten, then the states which house as many cultural and linguistic minority groups as the Union will come to grief. There is also another aspect to this question. There are about 17 lakh Hindi speaking people in Bombay. Almost 52 per cent of the total population of Bangalore City in Karnataka is Tamil and one-seventh of the Kannadigas are outside the State. This linguistic interdependence in spite of the linguistic delimitation of States is often lost sight of. If the integrative factors are not emphasised and importance of dominant languages in a State is not understood, then the unity of the States themselves are bound to be threatened. If the States in turn do not take into consideration the integrative factors in the context of the nation, then the national identity will be threatened. Integrity of the States and the Union are interdependent. Any policy of language, education and culture is bound to fail unless this basic fact is understood by the policy makers.

The fear of domination of Hindi, however, is real and it cannot be swept under the carpet. If Hindi stands as a barrier against equality of opportunity in getting Central Government jobs for speakers of different non-Hindi languages then it is bound to be resisted. Therefore, it is necessary to provide checks and balances :

(i) By setting up impatial professional bodies for conducting national level selection tests ;

(ii) By ensuring that each person has a change to appear in or through his language (restricted to the scheduled languages) ;

(iii) By ensuring that the knowledge in Hindi expected of the non-Hindi speaker is comparable to the knowledge of other Indian language expected of the Hindi speakers ; and

(iv) By ensuring that no advantage on grade point and consequently in rank in the competetive examination is dependent on the control of one or the other language.

The decision about the use of languages for administration continues to be erratic both in the states and in the Centre. English was the language through which people acquired wealth, status and rank in the society. The sole aim with which English was adopted as the language of education was to restrict education in India. Those who are privileged by English Education are naturally clamouring to make the benefits secure for their descendants. They have less concern either for literacy or for education of the whole country including people from their own group. Othewise they could not argue in favour of a formula which is lesser than three language formula.

In ancient India, knowledge could percolate to the common man through oral transmission. With Indian languages losing their knowledge base and English education being the preserve of a few, the vast majority of illiterate people have been made under-privileged. Unless this policy is reversed by giving more emphasis on Indian languages as carriers of modern knowledge, education would continue to serve a minority of privileged. Therefore in the scheme of things relating to language, education and a democratic socialist polity, an Indian language other than a State language must receive priority attention over English.

There are scholars like Julian Dakin (Dakin, Julian 1968), who claim that 'the campaign for the mother tangue arose out of a middle-class, rather than a popular movement'. Such people conveniently forget that even the campaign for English is in the same sense a middle-class effort, and much more restricted than the former. They refuse to see that an education system cannot be viewed insulated from socio-economic, psychological and pragmatic considerations such as national cohesion. If English education isolates the English educated from his family, friends, society and nation and in the words of Le Page puts education in 'a linguistic polythene bag', (Le Page 1964) then the teaching of various national languages has the effect of homogenising education so as to be an instrument of a social purpose-in building a democratic socialist polity.

It must be understood that the three-language formula is not a goal, but a strategy for this country. It does not aim at imposing a limit to learning, but it aims at the minimum needed for identifying oneself with the immediate group, with the nation, and with the international community. One may have to learn more languages than these for meeting specific needs and purposes. One may have differences about which three languages to learn, at what stage to learn them, and about the quantum of learning; but there is no escape from accepting the three-language formula as a launching pad for innovative and experimental educational programmes in the country.

It is popularly believed that the three-language formula is an imposition of the Centre on the States. First of all it must be understood that the three-language formula represents a national concensus, blessed by the father of the nation, suggested by the Constituent Assembly, resolved by the CABE in 1956, approved by the Chief Miniters' Conference in 1961, adopted as the National Policy of Education in 1968 and approved by the Parliament in the same year. It has been supported by the Conference of Vice-Chancellors at different times. Secondly, education is a state subject and the states have treated language as a political weapon to fight the Centre rather than treating it as a door of knowledge and window to a larger world. Even though Anna Durai for example, announced as early as 1961 that Telugu and Malayalam are the most important languages for the bulk of population in his State, none of the successor governments ever thought of providing instruction with in the school curriculum in those languages in the State. Blind opposition to Hindi handicapped generations of students who today find themselves handicapped in competing for jobs. The politicians may have scored a point, but it is at the cost of a generation of young men.

It must also be emphasised that both anti-Hindi and anti-English movements have weakened the foundation of education in the country and hit the weaker sections of the society most. While the privileged find their way into learning Hindi and English, the weaker sections of the society are condemned to mediocrity. All the so-called educational experiments are conducted at their cost. Both the anti-Hindi and anti-English politicians aid each other in keeping the education system elitist, while confusing issues, and keeping the large majority of people tied down to the culture of silence.

Study of Sanskrit

There is a good deal of ambivalence about the teaching of Sanskrit. While many think that it should be taugnt as a spoken language, others think that it should be taught as a classical language. Unfortunately in spite of the long tradition of Sanskrit teaching in this country no research has been done in modern terms about teaching Sanskrit as a classical language. There is also the problem of fitting Sanskrit in the Three Language Formula. Unless a proper perspective towards

Sanskrit is developed arguments for and against Sanskrit are bound to continue.

Lynn White Jr., writing in the *American Historical Review* (1060), observed that the Indian concept of perpetual motion 'not only helped European Engineers to generalise their concept of mechanical power, but also provoked a process of thinking by analogy that profoundly influenced Western scientific views'. It is not only in this field of Engineering. but in fundamental concepts like the discovery of zero, delineation of the decimal system, the Indian savants made such significant impact that the Arabs referred to mathematics as the "Indian Art". Books on medicine written as early as the 2nd century and on surgery written in the 4th century gave a respectability not only to the disciplines and scholars, but also to the vehicle of this thought-the Sanskrit language. Whether one wishes to study the encompassing concept of Dharma, the Indian attitude to God and the Gods, the relationship of Gods with man in this birth and beyond, existence and speculations on it or the myths and realities about the life cycle, one has to study Sanskrit, the language of the Gods and men in India. In studying the history, the economics, the politics or the attitudes towards social change of ancient and medieval India it is impossible to ignore the study of Sanskrit.

More than 2000 years ago, there flourished a science of phonetics in India, which does not have any parallel in the world. The Indian grammatical tradition continues to inspire linguists all over the world even today. Leonard Bloomfield, writing in *Language* (v.270 ff 1964) observes that "Indo-European comparative grammar had (and has) at its service only one complete description of a language, the grammar of Pāṇini. For all other Indo-European languages it had only the traditional grammars of Greek and Latin, woefully incomplete and unsystematic. For no language of the past have we record comparable to Pṇāini's record of his mother tongue, nor is it likely that any language spoken today will be so perfectly recorded". The tribute paid to Paṇini by the modern linguists is based on the recognition of the long traditions of Sanskrit grammatical studies in general and insightful analysis of Sanskrit by Pāṇni in particular. The discovery of Sanskrit by the European scholars established a firm bond between the East and the West. The growing tribute of Sir William Jones (Lecture before the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, February 2, 1786) that is a testimony of this bond : "The Sanskrit language, whatever may be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either; yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong that no philologer could examine the Sanskrit, Greek and Latin, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which perhaps no longer exists". There is a reason, though not quite so forcible for supposing that both the Gothic and Celtic, though blended with a very different idiom, had the same origin with the Sanskrit; and the Older Persian might be added to the same family. Subsequent research establishing the Indo-European family of languages has confirmed the views of Sir William Jones. Scholarly tradition from Bohtlingk, Wackernagel, Weber, Maxmuller, Goldstucker to Thieme and Rau in Germany; from Th. S. Bayer and P. S. Pallas to Secrebrykov, Ivanov, Zugrov, Kạlyanov, Elizarenkova in the USSR; from Whitney, Bloomfield to Brown, Ingalls, Emeneau, Van Buitenen, Stall and Stoler-Miller in the USA; From Wilkins, Macdonell, Colebrooke, Turner to Burrow, Allen, Brough in the UK and in many other countries including Indonesia, Iran, Laos, Nepal, Thailand, Burma, Japan and China has kept the study of Sanskrit alive outside India.

The utility of the study of Sanskrit is not confined only to the study of ancient and medieval India. Though the Middle Indo-Aryan developments Sanskrit spills over the New Indo-Aryan languages. The Modern Indo-Aryan languages were the carriers of Buddhist and Jain thoughts. The spread of Bhuddhism as far as China and Japan established closer kinship among the Asian countries and provided a strong motivation for the study of Sanskrit and Middle Indic languages in the countries concerned. Like the transmigration of soul, the Sanskrit language transformed itself into the Modern Indo-Aryan languages and is a living entity today.

The cultural miscegenation of the past 2000 years or more has resulted in such changes in the ad-stratum language Sanskrit and the sub-stratum Dravidian Munda languages that all of them show a good deal of typological similarities. This similarity is manifest in phonology, morphology and syntax. In the area of lexicon, percentage of Indo-Aryan loan words in some of the Dravidian languages reaches 'seventy and even more' and as Emeneau and Burrow (1962) point out "there is a tendency for all four of the Dravidian literary languages of the south to make literary use of the total Sanskrit lexicon indiscriminately". Andronov rightly observes that 'In any case one of the consequences of this mixture was a sharp change in the direction of the development of Indo-Aryan and new elements, typologically similar or typologically allied to those found in Dravidian, appeared in each of these languages and gradually increased in number. Simultaneously, the number of relationship elements, which connected the Indo-Aryan languages with the rest of the Indo-European gradually diminished". Arguing at the same breath Andronov (1968) observes that the so called 'genetic' relationship is not primordial and perpetual and that "if the direction of their development does not change in future, the no observed tendency to develop the formal similarity may gain strength and result in the formation of new relationship ties and of a new language family, which will be neither Indo-European, nor Dravidian".

It is not only in the field of language that the study of Sanskrit has direct relevance, but also in the study of Indian literature one cannot ignore Sanskrit. Sanskrit has not only provided themes and plots, but also has influenced the styles, dictions and modes of expression of the diverse Indian literature thus making the whole country one culture area. In the study of current religious and philosophical thought in any part of the country one can easily discern the underlying Sanskritic tradition. In the process of the Great Tradition co-existing with the many little traditions and nourishing them through their independent existence, Sanskrit has transformed itself to the sociological concept 'Sanskritisation' and assumes a dynamic functional role in the changing Indian society. Study of Sanskrit, therefore, is a compelling necessity even for the understanding of modern India with its multifarious facets of life and culture.

In a multilingual society like India where learning of three languages becomes a must for any one aspiring for education, there is naturally great difficulty in fitting Sanskrit into the curriculum. However, in one form or other, Sanskrit is taught in the school stage all over the country and in 42 Universities upto the Post-Graduate level. There are also the Central Institute of Sanskrit and Sanskrit Universities doing advanced research in different areas of Sanskrit studies. The Union Government helps preserve the Gurukula system and at the same time provides financial assistance for the modernisation of the conventional system. It must be understood that Sanskrit is to be developed as a research tool for humanities and social sciences, and learnt for the understanding of its grammatical and literary tradition. For this purpose the teaching methods and materials need to be reviewed with a view to bringing the new insights to bear on them. Those involved in Indian studies in India have to do a lot of heart searching in this regard. Although there is some difference about the duration of study, quantum of Sanskrit to be studied at different stages of our education, the technique of teaching and the manner in which this is to be incorporated in the curriculum, there may be no second opinion about teaching Sanskrit as a component of allied disciplines. For instance, while Sanskrit can be taught as part of ancient Indian history and culture, Indian Philosophy, Indian Archaeology, Numismatics and Epigraphy, Philology, etc., it can also be taught as an integral part of the modern Indian language course. It is only then that any promotional activity for

Sanskrit will be meaningful and Sanskrit will be a window to India for all those interested including Indians.

Languages in the Context of Non-formal Education

Language in education is not only important in the context of formal education, but also assumes equal importance in the context of non-formal education.

Language use in the context of non-formal Education has assumed importance as (a) Literacy which forms an indispensable component of Non-formal Education for adults is essentially a language related task and (b) Language is the most important medium of communication of ideas. In the context of multiplicity of languages, dialects, styles and registers in the country, it has not only become imperative to correct choice of the variety of language to be used for instant communication, but also link this language with the process of standardisation conventions of the language. At this stage thetaking place in various languages at various levels.

It is important to be clear about the strategies of language learning before venturing into the task. As an adult person who is going to learn language through non-formal education already has mastery over a variety of spoken language, the major problem for him is ·to relate the language. to the writing following types of problems can be visualised :

(a) Non-literate languages for which either a script is to be devised or adopted pose serious problems before a literacy worker. Tribal languages and minor non-tribal languages come under this category. The first problem they meet is the choice of a script. The question whether to use the script of the dominant regional language, Nagari, Roman or specially designed script has to be answered by them. Problems of writing length, stress, tone, etc., have to be sorted out and problems of spelling need to be solved before any material is produced in these languages.

(b) Languages like Tamil where there is considerable divergence between spoken, read and written forms pose a different set of problems. It may further be mentioned that in this language spoken forms are almost never written using the Tamil alphabet.

(c) Languages like Telugu where textbooks used to be invariably written in a style which is almost never spoken present yet another set of problems. It may be mentioned that a decision has been taken to switch over from the written Granthika style to the spoken standard Sista Vyavaharika style in a phased manner in 5 years. Following this decision, although the switch over has been effected to some extent at the higher levels, the gap between the primary and the post-primary is considerable. The primary books continue to be in the Granthika style.

(d) Situations like Kuvi, or Gondi where there is considerable dialect variation in a smaller area. Production of material which is acceptable in the entire language speaking area, however, small has its own problems which need to be solved.

(e) Situations in places like Koraput in Orissa, Ranchi in Bihar where large number of small aggregates of tribal and non-tribal people use Desia, a dialect of Oriya in the first place, and Sadri or Sadni, a dialect of Hindi in the second place as communication languages. Here is a three step movement from mother tongue to communication language to the standard, which has to be taken note of by any one interested in non-formal education.

(f) Situations like Nagaland, where the existance of a large number of mutually unintelligible languages, a pidgin contact language has led to the use of foreign language completely unrelated to either used as the language of education and administration.

(g) Speakers of languages like Tulu and Konkani where Kannada in the first place and Kannada, Marathi and Malayalam in the second are used as culture languages, language for communication in practically all areas other than home communication.

The above illustrative list which focusses attention on some of the dimensions other than the better known dimensions like dialect variation, etc., would justify advanced research not only about problems relating to making choices of varieties of languages to be used but also problems relating to implementing this choice once it is made. In implementing the teaching of writing and reading, for example - different kinds of problems would have to be solved in different cases.

Once the choice of the script is made the way of presenting the script and relating to the spoken word would assume importance. Methods such as phonic method, word method, sentence method, etc., have been suggested by various experts in this context. The Central Institute of Indian langugaes, for example, after closely scrutinising the other available methodology and taking into consideration their strong points and inadequacies has developed its own method of presentation based on the twin principles of patterned perception and contrastive observation. The Institute has also prepared a film for learning Devanagari and filmstrips for learning Bengali and Urdu scripts. A lot more research needs to be done in this area.

Vocabulary presents another broad area of research. As initial literacy is bound to be functional, courses which would cater to the specific needs of people have to be developed. The Andhra Sahitya Academy, under the title of "Vrutti Pada

Kosa'', has brought out several volumes of professional terminology used in different regions of Aadhra Pradesh. Similar projects need to be undertaken in other areas and other languages. In any case quick surveys need to be done about functional vocabulary which is available with the people for whom the courses are designed. The Central Institute of Indian Languages has compiled 'Recall Vocabulary' in all major languages other than Hindi which represents vocabulary in active command of educated native adult speakers of a language. Similar diagnostic studies may have to be done in the rural areas.

The proverbs, folk tales, folk songs, etc., should be utilised for transmitting contents to the target areas concerned in an interesting manner.

It is important to recognise that good grammars of even the major languages are not available today. Without this grading of material into levels could be well-nigh impossible. In case of minor languages and tribal languages the situation is still worse. Instant grammatical analysis has to be simultaneously undertaken for target areas, where grammars are non-existent.

The content to be transmitted for a farmer's literacy programme, for a programme of workers education, for programmes for 15 to 25 age group and for weaker sections of society are bound to dictate the use of different standards. Very often translations have to be resorted to from English or Hindi into other Indian languages. Translation requries considerable ability in manipulating both the source and target languages. A lot of the material which is translated from English becomes almost unintelligible to the Hindi speakers because of following English syntax closely. This aspect also needs to be looked into by the linguistic experts.

Use of audio-visual media such as films, radio and TV add entirely new dimensions of communication. Radio in particular where dependence is entirely on the spoken word has to rely heavily on the language experts to ensure immediate communication. Since film and TV combine visual with the audio-material there is considerable scope for building bridges between different kinds of speech.

Thus it would be seen from the illustrative list above that whether it is teaching reading and writing or using language for transmitting ideas, messages and information language has a pivotal role in non-formal education. Difference between home language and school language has been responsible for a good deal of wastage and stagnation in the formal education system. If non-formal education does not ensure instant communication and simultaneously build bridges which would permit a person to move into self study in the areas of his interest then the very purpose of non-formal education would have been defeated.

Language use in education, in administration and in mass communication needs serious attention in any multilingual developing country. As a retrograde language policy can create a restrictive education and consequently an elitist society, a well-planned language policy can lay the foundation for democratic socialist polity and harness the country's man power for national development. It is acclaimed at all quarters that the present day education in India is elitist in orientation. By adding layers to it and effecting sporadic surface changes no great revolution can be brought about either in education or in the society. A national language policy is a major step towards such a revolution. I hope that linguists and language scholars will take note of this and provide necessary leadership in formulating and implementing such a policy.

II

LANGUAGE and EDUCATION

EDUCATION IN A WORLD OF CRISIS

Paul Neergaard, Director, Danish School of Seed Pathology, has pointed out that 97 per cent of the total funds spent in developed countries and only 3 per cent in developing countries. He further points out that Indian dependence on English for research is greater than the British dependence on English. Crises in education is a crisis in communication, communications between the planners and the beneficiaries, the elite and the people and between the teachers and students.

The non-formal adult education is meant for 60 per cent of the illiterate population of the country. If the education budget is 3 per cent of the total budget of the country and the budget for non-formal education is 2 per cent of the total education budget, one can easily count per learner per teacher expense. The ritualistic encounter between the teacher and the taught, more often than not without a common language of communication, is to fill up statistics than gaining meaningful result. While components such as population education, family planning education, environmental education are added each day, there is none to bother about quality and communicability of the material.

The primary education, which is the foundation of the entire educational edifice, is in still more precarious condition. To execute the operation blackboard programme 1.7 lakh school rooms are to be built and 4 lakh teachers are to be recruited costing about 1000 crores. We do not have funds for this. But even if this is done there is no guarantee that there will be any improvement of quality. The reason is language. With the emphasis on infant meritocracy on the one hand, and interactive communication technology on the other, the obvious facts that (a) primary education is primarily language education; (b) the socio-political cost of primary education in a second/foreign language is enormous; and (c) without proper foundation in languages the educational superstructure is bound to crumple, are forgotten.

At the primary education stage, one's understanding of the environment deepens, one's kinship with the societal network is established and one takes root in one's culture. The child's creative intelligence turns into a bundle of confusion as a world view different from the one provided by the categories of home language is imposed at an impressionable age. Take for example the use of English as the language of primary socialisation and primary learning for a non-English mother tongue child in India. The home language has words for trees and creepers, grasses and greens, fruits and flowers, birds and beasts, shades of colour and the ever-changing moods of nature. None of these are available in English either at home or in school. Therefore this acts as the first base of cultural alienation. The three dimensional Indian kinship terms expressive of extended and putative relations are neutralised by the English kin terms which come in the way of building a sense of interconnectedness in the social network. This leads to cultural anomie. The myths and symbols of a culture cannot be transmitted through the norms of another language. All artistic forms of cultural expression become alien to the growing child, who develops cultural perception blind spots. All these transmit a value which pushes the child towards a metropolis outside immediate culture and as one grows in "sophistication" one tends to accept a metropolis outside the country, in an English mother tongue region. It will thus be seen that the mother tongue shapes the early perceptions, becomes responsible for early concept formation, links past memories with future dreams, it becomes an integral component as well as expression of emotions and values. Further education built upon this foundation becomes an asset, whereas based upon a substitute it becomes debilitation. The need for and benefit of early mother tongue education is accepted all over the world including the founding fathers of the Indian constitution. But this is observed more in its breach.

There is a good deal of talk about new methods, materials and media mix and the use of high technology for the advantage of the poor. There is no strategy for communicating even the message to the teacher. It is forgotten that technology is culture sensitive and relevant technology results from the interaction of science with society. Unless peoples' languages are employed for dissemination of science there can neither be developing of a scientific temper nor technology can take root in the education system. On the other hand it will support radical conservation and status quo.

India's achievement in higher education has been spectacular. The largest chunk of the education budget is allocated for this. But one look at the streaming process demonstrates that it benefits a miniscule minority. 96 per cent of India's population provides less than 1 per cent students to the colleges and universities in the country. India is the third country in the world in terms of scientific and technological manpower and eighth in the world in printing. It houses 50 per cent of the 900 million world illiterate population. The growth of education that is talked about promises more of the same thing, more schools, more teachers, more books, greater enrolment and greater physical inputs. But as they are not calculated to cope with the decline, time is bound to aggravate mistakes as it has done in the past. Under a system where education is state managed and even private initiative operated under the pleasure of the State, where a linear curve marks the progression from infancy to adulthood with teacher qualification, curricular context, textbooks, school timing and duration either dictated or licenced by the State, it is not possible to meet the impending crisis unless a higher order leadership that is required for growth is encouraged.

In the past, all educational advantages are appropriated by the advantaged and most experimentation has been conducted at the cost of the underprivileges. Unless more attention is given to the first generation learners and the low achievers for societal reasons, excellence will continue to be a mask for the chosen few. Crisis management will be a discipline in the Institutes of Management, but the crisis will continue.

LANGUAGE AND HIGHER EDUCATION

Relevance, Renovation and Processes of Change

Crisis in Indian higher education is seen by many resulting "from a system rooted in the colonial past". Edward shills goes to the extent of saying that "India is not an intellectually independent country but it is still intellectually a province of the British metropolis". Very often past is used as an excuse for present lapses in India. In all fairness to the British system it must be said that if at all India is intellectually a province of the British metropolis, it is of the late 18th and 19th centuries, not of the 20th century.

Education has bypassed majority of people in the country. It has ceased to be a store house of tradition and generator of values consistent with the composite culture of India and appropriate to its state of development, economic, political and cultural.

Many educationists and statesmen consider innovations in education and change in the pattern of education as an essential conditions for social change in India. Labels like job-oriented education, vocational education, work experience in education, etc., are created for giving a new look to the old structure. Here an attempt is made to raise some fundamental issues, analyse the causes of chaos and confusion, and examine the relevance of courses of study with regard to the emergent social realities in the country.

Yesterday's Education

The Indian academic system is monolithic in character. All universities, by and large, follow one uniform practice, be it admission, appointment to the faculty, framing of syllabus or examination. Since the appointment of the first Education Commission, each of the Commissions has said essentially the same thing about all important matters relating to education. However, after every study and report so much energy is spent on the fringes of educational matter and so many surface adjustments and compromises made that at the most the system could be termed as or equated with "Ordered imperfection'. It is seldom realised that it is impossible to build up an efficient system from inefficient components. By propping up education as it was, enriching an outmoded system and building redundancy into such a system, there has been progressive increase of internal conflict and the entire system is condemned to failure.

Good examples of this chaos and redundancy are provided by decision makers in regard to syllabus and curriculum. It is a common belief even among educationists that a mere increase in the number of years of instruction will raise the standard of attainment in a subject. This is why without adequate input in teacher training, improved instructional material, use of up-to-date instructional technology, demands were made in many parts of the country to begin instruction in English from lower classes. Example of a different kind of redundancy is provided by the subject specialists. In order to strengthen science and technology, specialists are often invited to examine syllabi of various science subjects. Such experts in consultation with their colleagues in India prepare syllabi in their respective subjects, which may be ideal if those particular topics were taught, but do not quite fit into the general framework either in terms of allocation of emphasis or in terms of balancing of content. Schooling is equated with the composite of the objectives set for subjects and the process as well as the product of teaching is lost sight of.

Curricula of universities continue today with utter disregard of the many changes and innovations that have taken place in the field of education and in the use of educational technology. Even the teaching of the dominant language of the area as mother tongue follows the age old pattern. This has little to offer by way of challenge either to the present or provide a strategy to build for the future (Pattanayak 1977). Because of this prevalent confusion even the dominant languages are not sufficiently developed to cope with the demands made on them and as a result the foundation of education grows weaker day by day.

From Subjugation to Citizenship

After the end of the subject status of India there was a natural urge among the people of the country to enjoy the full rights and benefits of citizenship. Unfortunately in spite of all talk about socialism and equality, there continues to be a minority elite and consequently the large majority of the people suffer from a disadvantage. Of course, from the view point of education, both the elite and the non-elite are disadvantaged for different reasons. Big cities with higher population attract larger number of colleges, thus ensuring higher education for more affluent and advanced sections of the society. In the Indian state of Uttar Pradesh, 22 cities with population of two lakhs and above have 32 per cent of all the colleges in the state. The survey conducted by the National Council of Educational Research and Training on the Sociology of Education reveals that 80 per cent university entrants and graduates come from the top 20 per cent of the society. The poverty sector is barred from this education. On the other hand, all so-called educational experiments have been made at the cost of the under-privileged. Indian Education, instead of being geared to the need of the disadvantaged, has put emphasis on .the perpetuation of the elite minority and bestowed rank, status and wealth on those who worship it. A curious contraction has built up in the process. On the one hand, there is persistent demand for more of the same kind of education even if it leads to unemployment, and on the other, there is an equally persistent demand to destroy and scrap the system as it is purposeless and ineffective.

The rising expectations and aspirations of the majority of the people, consequent on the attainment of independence, were never reflected in the courses of study in the academic institutions. In structure, content and orientation they remain almost unchanged. Educationists have been satisfied with a mere enumeration of class hours, and at best major ideas and concepts, without being bothered about their relevance either to their times or to the present. Not to speak of modernity, it appears even contemporaneity neither was nor is a major concern of the educationists. Without a detailed critical examination of all the courses of study in History, on the basis of a cursory overview it can be safely generalised that Indian History after 1945 and Indian regional history after 1885 has almost no place in the history curriculum. What is much more alarming is that in many univetsities the preoccupation if still the British history and what passes in the name of Indian History is an extension of the colonial history in an Indian locale. When Ancient Indian history and culture is considered to be of antiquarian interest and thus of interest to only antiquarians and modern Indian history is considered inconsequential, it is futile to look either for historicity in a national context or a sense of historical perspective among the youth of the day.

Leadership and Decision Making

Both the structure and the function of the academic system in the country inhibit the pursuit of excellence. Pursuit of excellence presupposes an atmosphere of academic freedom, stimulation and initiative. With the attainment of freedom from alien rule, although freedom from a number of restraints was achieved, in the academic sphere this 'freedom from' was never translated into 'freedom of'. The elitist minority enjoyed a few licences because of limited access to education, but neither the student community as a whole nor the people at large got a chance to taste liberty, particularly the liberty to choose and to refashion an archaic reality. The system offered very little variation in approach, courses of study of specific goal oriented training to permit genuine choice (Desai 1967).

The infra-structure of the constituent institutions within the system being pyramidal and the sole criterion of upward movement being seniority, there is little scope for competition for excellence even among the faculty. Whatever little scope exists is easily stifled by the seniors who are at the apex of the 'downward flowing system of decision making'. When reward is consequent upon seniority, excellence could be a positive disadvantage. The seniors, who were one-time excellents, have no way of coping with the explosion of knowledge and thus very soon become dated in their respective disciplines. Any new knowledge is considered a threat to their charisma as Head and affront to their limited capacity and absolute authority. In their effort to retain their privileges, the 'Heads' discourage genuine competition. Thus, the entire system is immunised to adaptation and innovation (Pattanayak 1966 and John 1969 : 24-29).

The machinery which was set up to coordinate activities, determine standards and give grants-in-aid to institutions of higher education has never in the past effectively used its powers. As a result, limits of central corrective action in professionalising education were never established. To illustrate, instead of putting emphasis on its professional character, and providing intrinsically academic leadership, the University Grants Commission with participating Vice-Chancellors as decision makers, acted as an apex Institution distributing patronage. Both participating and retired seniors continued an obsolescence debate. This neither took note of the search for a new set of operational paradigms among the newly trained academics nor of the depth of the ferment among the youth in a hurry to telescope the process of discovery and innovation, attain modernity and acquire new and contemporary knowledge. There is certainly an incipient conflict even within this new set of goals and their articulation with a policy is a complex enterprise. But the point is that decision making hardly matched the tasks facing it (Joshi 1976: 229-239).

One consquence of this situation is seen in the fact that educational institutions are not relevant and flexible institutions educating for work. Universities have become Degree-granting bodies. In 1973 about seven lakh students took their Bachelors and Masters Degrees in Arts, Science and Commerce. The number has considerably increased since then. The Degree holders are service-oriented rather than job-oriented. It is common knowledge that an average agriculture graduate has much less grasp of realities than an average illiterate farmer in his field. The same is true of almost all vocational subjects with probably a difference in degree. In most cases there is a dis-proportionate emphasis on teaching about a vocation rather than on teaching the vocation itself. As a result persons trained vocationally often lack the self-confidence to start an independent project where they have to compete and establish their superior talent over other competitors.

In a transitional society struggling to change from tradition to modernity, emphasis needs to be put on the encouragement of giftedness and creativity. This is necessary for breaking the stagnation and inertia inherent in the traditional mode of thinking. Since an infinitesimally small percentage of people participating in the benefits of education is called upon to provide leadership in thought and action, unless this class is creative and gifted, the country is bound to slip into mediocrity. However, when custodians of past knowledge are in the apex positions in education guarding their positions of privilege (Altbach 1974 : 331-352), it is futile to expect them to encourage giftedness and creativity.

Curricula and Techniques for Excellence

The mode of syllabus-making also inhibits creativity. The syllabus is made two, three or four years before an examination is held. The process of changing the syllabus is consequently slow. To that extent syllabuses are out of tune with contemporary knowledge. Add to that the time gap existing between the creation of new knowledge at different centres of the world and their availability to our system, the tendency in the system is to conform to 'inherited fixed concepts and practices'. In the absence of built-in guarantee for continuing training of academics, the system, instead of encouraging a spirit of exploration, follows the path of least resistence and promotes conformism. This comes into instant conflict with the youth's immense capacity for enquiry and his yearning for change. The present chaos is an expression of this strain.

It is frustrating to talk of dynamism and changing instructional strategies in a system which is basically static and backward-looking. One of the major areas of development in recent times is educational technology. Computer technology, programmed instruction, teaching machines and production of software keeping in view the psycho-social needs of the learners are areas in which advanced research is being done all round the world. All these have yet to make a dent in the system. Wherever a little of the technology is inducted it is soon treated as a status symbol rather than an instructional aid.

Changing educational strategies assume either outmoded past praciices or shifting academic objectives in the light of emergent social realities in the context of change. Unfortunately no professional machanism exists either to define the goals from time to time or examine the suitability of the available Instructional apparatus. In the State Secretariat where Indian Administrative Service Officers are considered omniscient, very little fundamental thinking in this regard can be expected. Similar results obtain from multiplicity of controls and agencies with the government bureaucracy and from the well-known ineffectuality of Vice-Chancellors with their less than perfect credentials for academic leadership.

Rehabilitating the product vs. Rectifying a System

The effort of the academic leaders in India has been concentrated on rehabilitating the product rather than rectifying the system. For instance, degrees continue to be multiplied and decried at the same breath, and then programmes of rehabilitation of the degree owners are undertaken. Higher positions in the faculty are created, but the products of the seniority system are promoted to them. Very little action is to relate professional status to profetsional performance. The subject content is improved, a good curriculum is prepared and yet at the same time education is made solely dependent on the textbook. Because of well-intentioned measures corrective schools are started, more resources added, more trained personnel and improved physical facilities created; but all these have the effect of adding layers to the existing system and do not add up to a wide-ranged vision for the education of tomorrow.

It is important to recognise that the drop-outs and failures at different levels of education, the mounting educated unemployment, the reported mass-copying, functionalism among the faculty and the destruction of academic institutions are symptoms of a deeper malady. They signal the rejection of the system by various segments connected with it. Unless efforts are made to radically rectify it to ensure a two-way flow of decision making and to relate education to the needs of the community, the system will collapse under its own weight.

Language as Medium of Instruction and Administration

The language debate in India has mixed up the two questions of language instruction and language as medium of instruction. Most of contemporary debates on this question also err on the confusion of language as medium of instruction with the content of instruction. It is not realised that no matter what the language of instruction is, the contemporaneity of the scientific books is in inverse ratio to the active work done in those fields. The obsolescence of these books is directly related to the obsolescence of theories, ideas or even facts in these fields.

In a Duch High School the students on one occasion pointed out to their excellent biology teacher teaching the difficult subject of genetics, that 'what he told them was in conflict with the textbook' (a work dating from remote antiquity, in its umpteenth unrevised edition). He then sternly peered over his glasses and announced emphatically, 'I am the book'. In India, where the mastery of the textbook is considered the goal of instruction, it is no wonder that there is more concern about translating textbooks than about exciting the sense of adventure and exploration of the yong students as a passport to the world of knowledge. Prof. Satyen Bose, a scientist of the Bose-Einstein Statistics fame, once commented that if someone cannot impart intricate problems of his field to his audience in his mother tongue, it is not because he does not know his mother tongue, but because he does not know his subject. After two hundred years of repetition of other people's views, the system has begun to develop a rootless pseudo internationalism where restricted textbook knowledge is imparted through a foregin language. No wonder that a foreign textbook enjoys greater status. This inhibits original thinking and leads people to learn their mother tongues in schools.

It is generally accepted, on sound pedagogical grounds, that the mother tongue is best suited as the medium of instruction. It is the natural language of thought for the child and eminently suited for concept formation. While any language may be the language of added comprehension, only the language with which one lives and grows is best suited in achieving originality in thought and expression. If a language has not been exploited for expressing certain abstruse concepts, it is due to no inherent defect in that language. Language can only be enriched through use, and so the argument that a language cannot be used because it is not rich as putting the horse before the cart (John 1969a:24-33).

A lot of fruitless debate is going on due to the confusion between percolation of knowledge and sharing of knowledge. Percolation of knowledge to the popular level or spread of knowledge among the masses is essential for raising the general standard of education through raising the community awareness and laying a strong foundation for democracy. But it must be recognised that underlying this is an attitude of condescension. It ignores the fact that without benefit of the accumulated knowledge and wisdom at the flok level, knowledge created at the top could be sterile and irrelevant. It is important to strengthen the foundation of a reservoir of knowledge which could be shared with the large majority of people in the country who are discriminated aganist by formal education. This must be differentiated from sharing the knowledge among the intellectual elites not only within the country, but also outside the country. It is clear that opportunities must be created for the educated people of the country to communicate with their peers in any part of the world, as well as with the seekers of knowledge in any part of the country. For that purpose provision must be made to offer as many language courses to suit to specific needs as possible. Realistically in India such provision must begin with English and Hindi.

Today, in India, between the provincial and the extraterritorial intellectual allegiance of the anglophiles, whether it is to England or to New York, the concept of country is lost. On the other hand, between the narrow parochial self-seeking and the avarice for power (not the will to power) of the Hindi fanatics, the concept of country is equally blurred. When looked through either looking glass, there will be no country left to be emotionally integrated. The existence of such a state of affairs can be exemplified by the threats and counter-threats of ultimatum and secession by various extremist positions. Such threats have very little academic relevance. Higher education has suffered most as it has not been able to extricate itself from the self-defeating arguments of both the camps.

English education in India has resulted in adding one more national language to the already existing fifteen. It has also resulted in the decline of multilingualism. By encouraging attitudes ranging from indifference to positive disrespect towards the traditional Indian languages, English education has also generated a good deal of mutual disrespect among them. As in Switzerland, such a situation poses a threat to the unity of the country.

Various formulae have been suggested from time to time to meet this situation. The word 'formula', like talisman and magic cure, has an unfortunate connotation of effortless problem-solving for many. It either invokes the meaning of a prescription and injects a sense of compulsiveness, or is adjudged the result of compromise and induces groups to demand further concessiveness. In either case, it helps both those who interpret formula as a way of escape from reality and those who act in defence of the existing order. The inadequacy of 'formulae' is also evident from the outward allegiance and inward betrayal.

The demand for Indian languages to be the medium of education can be traced to the early 19th century. The Bombay Education Society expressed in favour of native language as the medium of instruction as far back as 1821. Ever since independence, time limits for change-over in the instruction media have been set by the Centre as well as by individual universities. Bombay University in 1959 had set a time-limit of ten years beginning from 1960 to switchover to the medium of Hindi. The Gujarat University had imposed on itself similar time-limit to switch to the regional language medium. While everybody paid lip service to this principle, very little was done to move towards this end. On the contrary, the protagonists sent their wards to the English schools and carried the vernacular experiment at the cost of others' children. The gulf in precept and practice on the part of the academic and political leadership has created not only frustration, but also bitterness among the people in general.

Nationalism in the sense of pride of national identity, as opposed to chauvinism and national insularity, is missing in the current language debate in India. As Ralphe Bunche put it aptly in an international congress of educationists in the US, there has been an 'appalling loss and lack of integrity in position, in intellect, in utterance' among the politicians, administrators, and academicians discussing the issue. As the governmental leaders have not correctly delineated the rightful place of Hindi and English, shrewed political leaders have taken advantage of the situation and confused the issue to their advantage by asking if we were getting '14 languages in exchange of English'. In the early 19th century, when language poets were eulogizing their respective mother tongues and politicians were firmly rooted in their regions, there was much more national cohesiveness and pride than there is to be seen at present.

English poses an artificial barrier against the massive 'revolution of rising expectation' of the people in gaining their rightful place in the governmental process. If the glamour of the large uneducated masses for swiftly reaping the benefits of industrialisation is to be canalised in constructive ways to buy time to save democracy, they must be given an education which guarantees them a sense of belonging, of continuity, and of onward progress. This sense can only be imparted through the mother tongue, the culture language, or one of the related languages. Those, who demand the maintenance of status-quo or a go slow policy, are advocates of a static solution for a dynamic situation, and are oblivious of the fact that forces of change are 'fiercely, drivingly, unpredictably at work'.

Translating Textbooks : In defence of mediocrity

Translation of the textbooks is often cited as an insurmountable barrier in any change-over from one medium to another. The Indian academic mind is so conditioned in accepting textbook as the master in the classroom and textbook teaching as goal of instruction, that both the governmental agencies and the universities cannot see beyond it. In this age of explosion of knowledge, the contemporaneity of textbooks in any language is short-lived. Any original research done in French, German, Russian, Japanese are translated into English, and, to that extent, there is an information time-lag between English and those languages. That is why study of foreign languages is considered a must for those opting for higher education in the English speaking countries. Under the circumstances, those who are arguing in good faith in favour of translating all textbooks for all times to come arguing in defence of mediocrity without their being aware of it.

Some centuries back when the Greek historian Herodetus decided to travel throughout the world before he wrote the history of his own people, he visited Egypt which was famous for its prowess and knowledge. He asked the omniscient priests of Egypt the cause of the flood in the river Nile. The custodians of the static knowledge in Egypt, who had never bothered to worry themselves about such causes, looked at Herodetus with consternation and pity. They are reported to have blurted out. "Oh you Greeks, will you always remain children ?" When knowledge is confined to textbooks in archieves, any further quest for new knowledge is naturally considered uncomfortable or even embarrassing by the traditional authorities. Although such situations have arisen in ancient Greece, Egypt and India, people hardly seem to have learnt any lessons from them.

Books are written in any language to put newly discovered facts, newly propounded theories, or newly thought ideas before a wider public. Depending on the amount of original work done in any field of study, new facts are discovered, new inventions made. Old theories are discarded with a rapidity which makes books obsolete even before they have a chance to reach their audience. The aim of education should be to excite the sense of adventure and exploration of the students to enable them to create, invent and discover rather than trail behind other people's discoveries and inventions.

Because of the very nature of the structure of the Indian education, Indian educational institutions inhibit the inculcation and diffusion of new knowledge. In a non-competitive seniority system, there is hardly any incentive for creativity on the part of the faculty. In following a rigid curriculum, the academicians seem to have come to the conclusion that the goal of instruction is teaching one or more textbooks. This is why in the current language debate, some academicians have argued in favour of English so that we may be able to import textbooks from England and America. There is no denving that it is imperative for our students to study books written in English. But instead of talking of books or reference books, I see no reason why so much stress should be placed on textbooks. I am reminded of a boy who wanted to send a telegram to his father, intimating that his brother had passed a certain examination. 'Brother passed', as a statement, was too bland for him and so to make it more elegant he added the word 'away'. Probably to such of our academicians who talk only in terms of textbooks, the word 'books' is bland.

Following are some of the definitions of textbooks selected randomly.

"A textbook is any manual of instruction, a book containing a presentation of the principles of the subject used as a basis of instruction."

- Webster's Dictionary

"A book used as a standard work for the study of a particular subject, a manual of instructions in a subject of study."

- The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary

"A record of racial thinking organised for instructional purposes."

- Hall Quest

"A standard book for any particular branch of study."

- Lange

"A Book designed for classroom use, carefully prepared by experts in the field and equipped with the usual teaching devices".

- Bacon

"A tool for the pupils and the teachers."

- L.J. Lweis

"In the modern sense, and, as commonly understood, the textbook is a learning instrument usually employed in schools and colleges to support a programme of instruction. In ordinary usage the textbook is printed, it is not consumable, it is hard-bound, it serves an avowed instructional purpose, and it is placed in the hands of the learner."

- Encyclopaedia of Educational Research, III Edition

"A textbook is either a teacher's tool or it provides the subject matter of the lessons".

- Encyclopaedia and Diction of Education, Vol. IV

"Textbook is the term used for a book used in a course as the base around which the course is built".

- The Writer's Handbook for the development of Educational materials

Textbooks in India are neither supporting instruments of learning nor are they based around which instruction is planned. As people who worship images as a step to the abstract and infinite remain bound to the image and seldom transcend it, those who are tutored with textbooks remain chained to it. They seldom graduate to books.

Studying a single textbook in any course is considered a very poor performance almost all the world over. Collateral reading broadens the vista of the student, helps him grasp the issues involved by presenting different points of view. Even prescription of more than one textbook is no substitute for studing a broad range of books. Any translation programme may select a number of standard up-to-date books some of which may be used as reference books in courses of study. However, the various phases of translation programme, beginning from the selection of a book, ascertaining the competence of the translator and quality of translation, vetting the translation, publication of the translated book, and its distribution, present problems which need careful attention. Not to speak of the adequacy of the various existing academic and non-academic organisation, the sheer lack of knowledge on translation is sufficient to make anyone wary about such a project.

Whether it is translating books into regional languages or writing textbooks in English, very little attention is being given to creative writing. Unless empasis is given to original research and publication of results, Indians shall always remain junior partners in any academic endeavour. By merely translating books one may at the most know other peoples' theories and conclusions well, but one would never know the context of such theory-building and hypothesis-formation. It is one thing to be able to get the benefit of technological training, it is another to have a grasp of the scientific research and underlies any such development of the training. The first may be expedient and time-serving, but without the second it does not take any country further along the road of education.

A call for a massive programme for undertaking the translation of textbooks is a step in defence of mediocrity. If the Indian educational system has to be modernised, a critical threshold to be passed through is a drastic change in the attitude, first, of the acceptance of textbooks as the master in classroom, and second, textbook teaching as the goal of instruction. Instead of these two false attitudes a call for creativity will lead to the single important breakthrough by which not only the seniority system but also the teaching centred education system can be challenged. A sense of competition can be injected and excellence can be accepted as the basis of learning.

Unity and uniformity

'International-mindedness' and 'understanding', acclaimed as goals of education all the world over, are not achieved by the imposition or adoption of a single language. There is no unanimity on basic issues and fundamental principles among all the English or French speaking countries of the world. In spite of the community of interests of the English speakers of India, the English speaking Brahmin and non-Brahmin of the Tamilnadu and Maharashtra were and even now are locked in a fierce antagonism. Understanding comes from 'learning of the varying ways and traditions, perspectives and purposes' of various people. But unfortunately language politicians in India play on regional sentiments to build up more barriers and restraints and advocate conformity to their respective points of view, rather than generating respect for each other's language and perspective.

Standard of education is a combination of complex factors. In Practice, it may be equated with qualitative education. Academic goals and practices to achieve them, quality of teachers, quality of teaching materials, quality of instruction, all contribute to the quality of education and setting of a standard. Some academicians in the country raise the bogey of standard n discussing almost anything in relation to education, while they refuse to define goals and take positive steps to free education from the crippling clutches of particularistic loyalties and adherence to a seniority system without reference to excellence. Those who are apprehensive of the lowering of standard with a change in language media conveniently forget that there was neither uniformity of standard among all the English medium institutions nor were all the English medium institutes uniformly superior to all non-English medium institutes. It is generally admitted that a lowering of standard has already set in even with the English medium.

To equate diversity with balkanisation, is either foolishness or fanaticism. In the world today conformity is often pushed down the throats of the weak and the underdeveloped in the name of unity. It has set world leaders of education to think. The UNESCO declaration in favour of the fundamental right of the child the world over to develop his own way, the recognition of diversity as the starting point of a healthy education which makes strangers friends; and friends neighbours are results of such thinking. The Greek educationist Ketty A. Stassinopoulou, poses the problem for the sceptics when she writes, some may object or express a fear that accepting and respecting differences might well serve understanding, but that it will prevent cohesion and unity, that it will be the end of the different disciplines-social, moral and intellectual - and will, step by step, lead to chaos'. She points out in reply that, 'these fears, based as they are on ethnic beliefs, are terribly difficult to dispel.' While comparing her beliefs of a world unity based on the recognition of basic differences to mosaics, she says, 'Mosaic are, as we know, made of small pieces of glass or stone, all different in shape and colour. There is not one exaotly like the other. But through the art of lovingly and thoughtfully assembling, with steadfast purpose, these disparate units, the artist has achieved a masterpiece'. If this is true of communities, this is more so of individuals in any educational institution. As Robert J. Havighurst tightly points out, "The good school is thought to be the school that studies its pupils as individuals, and provides for each person a variant of the common programme which fits his peculiar abilities, interests, and goals in life. Thus the phrase 'attention to individual difference' is a kind of slogan for American education. Through paying attention to differences between individuals it is hoped to secure good quality in education" (Havighurst 1962 : 14). It is the height of folly to ignore the realities relating to Indian society and education and not to adopt a pluralistic approach to the problems. Once this approach is accepted, the need for proliferation of schools, colleges and universities will be minimised.

A strong plea has been made in favour of the acceptance of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction as far as and as soon as possible. If other Indian- languages and foreign languages are as tool language, the problem of faculty transfer and communication among peer groups will have been solved. By requiring a certain proficiency in English it can be ensured that people going in for higher education meaningfully manipulate the language. By making English literature optionally available in schools and colleges, door can be kept open for those who need a psychological satisfaction in developing their aesthetic sense. Acceptance of the mother tongue will not only lead to original research as distinct from duplication or repetition of other people's research, but will give a sense of bearing and self-respect to the scholars.

By teaching in the medium of regional languages, which will be the majority mother tongue in any area. opportunity can be created for the common man to participate intelligently in the process of government. It is only natural that regional languages be the vehicle of administration at the state level. For inter-state and Cetre-state communication a choice of English and Hindi may be judiciously combined which will continue to act as link at different levels.

It is futile to talk and debate about a link language in a vacuum. Today loose and trite terms such as link language, library language, foreign language, world language, ripe language, deficient language, are freely used to mean different things to different people in different contexts. It is often forgotten that as things stand, the mother tongue links the group sharing it in a bond of solidarity. The state language which is the majority mother tongue in the state provides a linkage among all the linguistic minorities inhabiting that state, Hindi provides a link among a large majority of population of the country irrespective of family affiliation of their mother tongues and English links the educated elites of the country and their peers in other English knowing countries. Without proper appreciation of the hierarchical nature of linkage and the mutual inter-dependence of languages, lauguage use in education and administration have floundered from one folly to another. Once Hindi becomes the language of instruction and of administration in six Indian states, it will provide a powerful motivation to people all over India to study the language to increase their job opportunites. The same reason will encourage the study of neighbouring languages by a set of people who want to compete in their vocations in the neighbouring states. This will only put a limited current practice in a more rational basis. Currently a doctor or an engineer moving out of his state does not communicate with his uneducated or even illiterate patient or worker in English, but in the language of the area or in Hindi. By encouraging multi-lingualism, it will be possible to facilitate and hasten the change.

In any comprehensive scheme of social development there are bound to be residual problems. Such problems can always be handled given a sense of enlightened planning.

Integrating Linguistics with Modern Indian Languages

It is important that the content and quantum of linguistics is integrated with the modern Indian languages. It is assumed that unless language pedagogy is discipline based, there is little chance of its scientific development. Modern Indian languages in colleges and universities are mostly taught as mother tongue. Some universities offer undergraduate, graduate, certificate and diploma programmes in modern Indian languages which are taught as second/foreign languages. In some universities modern Indian languages are used as the media of instruction. In such situations these languages work as the vehicle of knowledge. Introduction of linguistics as an integral part of modern Indian language courses have to keep these three distinct functions in view. Modern Indian language courses emphasise the literary content of the language in most programmes. Literature is presented chronologically and the emphasis is more on the history of literature and the pre-literary history of language. Even the literature which is offered is by and large confined to ancient and medieval literature. Most literary research is either text based or author based. Very little attention is given to styles, registers and varieties of the language which fulfil important functional roles.

Some universities have one, two or three papers out of the eight devoted to language and linguistics. Most of such departments are in universities where there is no Linguistics Department. Therefore either a Junior lecturer attached to the department teachers the subject or the teacher who is a language M.A., with special paper or special aptitude in linguistics/language teaches the paper. If one scans all such courses it would be quite evident that in breadth and depth there is much to be professionally desired in these courses. Even in such universities where linguistics is taught as a subject in under-graduate and post-graduate stages there is seldom any dialogue between the teachers of linguistics and languages. Integration of linguistics in modern language courses has to be viewed in this context.

In the above circumstances there is no wonder that even M.As in Indian languages do not have a clear idea about the distinction among the mother tongue, second language and a foreign language, between style and register, language and dialect, language and writing. In spite of the hoary linguistic tradition of the country they have no idea of grammar, language relationship in space and time and the various dimensions of language use in education, administration and mass media. It is therefore, imperative that the objectives of teaching both the languages and linguistics be spelled out before preparing a curriculum either for under-graduate or for post-graduate levels. Whether one is interested in the linguistic study of the language or in the specialization of literature, a foundation course in Applied Linguistics embodying basic notions about language and languages must be given if not at the school stage, at least in the .under-graduate stage. Such a course need not be visualized as a different subject but should be viewed as part of the language subject. It is in this perspective that the following observations about goals and strategies are being made:

(a) Language teaching in the schools is defective leading to a gap between the language acquisition at the end of the school stage and the language requirement at the beginning of the college level. This is particularly so when one is called upon to extend the domain of use of mother tongue as the vehicle of instruction and knowledge and as medium of administration. It is, therefore, necessary that a bridge course introducing the college entrants to various skills and registers of the language be given on an intensive basis. This should be followed up by the inclusion of conceptual prose in the regular under-graduate curriculum.

(b) Language structure and language history need be taught with reference to the language under study. Thus, to begin with, instead of teaching general phonetics and theories of grammar one could teach the phonetios and phonology, word formation and sentence generation, internal and external reconstruction of the language concerned using linguistic notions.

(c) Development of a rational attitude towards one's own and others' language/dialect, styles and genres of literature can be developed through learning the language system concerned. Thus the basic foundation courses need not be courses in linguistics but would be courses in the Indian language concerned, which are based on the discipline of linguistics.

Both under-graduate and post-graduate syllabuses presume that the entry competence of students is uniform. Whether students come from English medium schools or other language medium schools, whether they come with subjects other than language as major or the same or a different language as major, the methods and materials are the same for all. This inflexible uniformity is the cause of many a weakness and needs to be remedied.

It sounds strange and yet it is borne by experience that among those coming to M.A., with language as option and language as mere compulsory subject, the latter perform better. Apart from students opting for language optional as a last resort, the fact remains that by and large what is taught at the B.A., stage in the optional is irrelevant for the M.A. It is, therefore, necessary to effect better integration among the B.A., and M.A., courses.

The B.A., compulsory as well as the optional courses take the mother tongue competence for granted and concentrate on administering an ambitious dose of literature. Here also emphasis is laid on chronology, author and text. No effort is made to develop advanced skills of comprehension, close study of texts, writing precis, synopsis, narratives, exposition, dialogue and other varieties of prose and acquainting the learner with stylistic variations. Reading of drama and poetry, recitation, which are neglected at the lower stages, could profitably be handled at this stage. These are not antithetic to the study of literature ; on the contrary, they are necessary pre-conditions to the study of literature.

At the post-graduate level, however, there is a need to diversify the teaching of modern Indian languages. One stream in language and another emphasising literature may be suggested in this connection. In either case the syllabus should be re-structured and provide for alternate streams of specialization. It is suggested to have six core papers and two specialized papers with alternate streams. The six core papers may be : (1) Language use, (2) Language analysis, (3) Language history, (4) Literary analysis, (5) Literary criticism and (6) Literary history. Under this scheme grammatical tradition can be handled under the rubrics of language use, language analysis and language history. One can view Pāṇinian grammar, Tolkappiyam or Sabdamanidarpana as efforts at analysing language of their time. One can also connect and compare that stage with intermediate stages and the contemporary stage, thus studying it under both the rubrics. The alternate streams may be different aspects of the study of literature, some aspect of applied linguistics such as translation, lexicography, contrastive analysis, adult literacy, etc., or some aspects of general linguistics, socio-linguistics and psycholinguistics, etc. The items suggested are illustrative. Different colleges and universities may specialize in areas of their own choice.

Almost all languages and linguistics departments in the country are engaged in preparing dictionaries is one from or another. Yet lexicography as a discipline and a formal course of training has not been reflected in language curricula. As a result, most language dictionaries are either poor replicas or adaptations of existing foreign language dictionaries. Very often they do not represent the semantic genius of the language. Specialized training could open up newer vistas and directions to the large number of language M.As about whose employability questions are often raised by those who are responsible for the inadequately trained multitude.

In a multilingual country translation and interpretation present formidable challenges before the language graduates. Very little systematic training facility in this area exist as part of the post-graduate training for those studying languages. The certificate and diploma courses run by some language departments in the area of translation are often not linguistics-based. The theoretical and methodological weakness needs to be remedied in all such courses.

The above recommendations are made on the assumption that language teaching should be discipline-based. Specialisation in respect of Applied Linguistics should act as an incentive for students to undertake further study in linguistics. This will also provide linguistic studies in the country, the much needed broad under-graduate base. Once the language and literature course, both under-graduate and post-graduate, is linguistically motivated, not only language teaching in the country is likely to be transformed at all levels but also creates a cadre of linguistically oriented persons who could be utilized for adult literacy and for collecting samples of unrecorded languages and dialects. They could also usefully be employed for a host of other research programmes.

From the above it should be clear that an approach to the curriculum in Indian languages at colleges and universities must avoid juxtaposition of language, literature and linguistics. The study of each is complementary to the study of the other. The scientific study of language provides a better basis for literary appreciation and a proper study of literature provides a basis for the language use in its multifarious dimensions.

While the above programme is designed for those who would take modern Indian languages as subjects of study in the under-graduate and post-graduate levels, there is an immediate need to give linguistic orientation to those who have already taken such courses and who are engaged in teaching languages in colleges and universities.

The discussion on this subject cannot be complete without reference to the teacher training institutes. B.Ed., and M.Ed., courses which qualify persons to teach and man the education departments must also be addressed in this regard. Unless content and methodology of language teaching is drastically modified and updated in the teacher training istitutions and integration of linguistics with the language courses brought about, the very purpose of reform at the college and university level is bound to be defeated. For this purpose it is necessary to organise short-term orientation programmes for teacher trainees. This should be devoted to studying different aspects of language in teacher training and the problem of integration of linguistics with language courses in the teacher training institutes. In addition, the summer and regular courses suggested for college and university, language teacher should also be open to teacher educators.

The underlying assumptions in the above discussion need to be made explicit.

1. An educated citizenry is a must for maintaining democratic values. Without an educated public, a democracy, to quote Madison, an American President, 'is either a farce or a tragedy'. English as the medium of instruction, the selective and limited education available to a restricted sector of the society, represent the farcical side. If tragedy is to be avoided, it is imperative that a broad-based universalistic education must be attempted, that will narrow the gulf between the elite and the masses by raising the general level. This is almost impossible to achieve under the present institutionalised schooling.

2. Education is a major social instrument for achieving the twin social objectives of social solidarity and cultural pluralism. It is necessary and possible to recognise mutual differences and generate respect for each other while developing a sense of one nation, one country.

3. The two great enemies of sound education are the absolutism of a monolithic mind and the producing 'people who all go the same way, indifferent or oblivious or even hostile to differences'. Rigidity inhibits adaptation and communication, and standardization leads a human social group to develop as a 'herd without soul'.

4. The non-competitive, seniority based pyramidal structure of higher education and the accent on particularistic loyalties are the two major reasons for a decline in the standard of education. These coupled with 'want of necessary finance' at the right time and place, and want of determining the correct priority, account for the poor quality of education in India.

5. The adoption of the line of least resistance, the fear of accepting diversity, lack of recognition and respect of the uniqueness of individuals and social groups as a step towards building a universalistic education in India, are the greatest faults of the political and academic leadership of the present day India.

Education as a state enterprise and universities with autonomy guarantee diversity in education. Since this also gives raise to particularistic loyalty, the Union Government, with purposive planning, can provide checks and balances. As V.V. John rightly concludes, "In regard to higher education, the Constitution lays on the Central Government the responsibility for 'the determination and coordination of standards'. This is the legitimate role of educational authority in other areas of education too. Besides ensuring that no institution or functionary in education gives short measure to the learning clientele, the role of authority should be to promote innovation and experiment, and make information relating to such ventures available to all institutions so as to encourage a spirit of mutual emulation. This would bring about the true liberation of learning that we are now in urgent need of" (John 1978:222).

LANGUAGE, EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT: A CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS AN ALTERNATIVE POLICY

The foundation of a good education policy can only be laid on a good language policy. Education Commission Reports all over the world including the American Report, *A Nation at Risk*, and the Bullock Report in UK have highlighted the importance of language in education.

That mother tongue is the best medium of elementary education, has been accepted by educationists all over the world. Wherever a mother tongue is sought to be assimilated with another language, or taken for granted due to a created standard, or, is replaced by another language, thus resulting in literacy education in a second language, it results in the linguistic, cultural, educational deprivation of the child. Such attitude of neglect and assimilation, whether it is sought to be justified in the name of mainstream or integration, results in the creation of insularity and elitism among the majorities and a tie up between the economic exploiters, the cultural imperialists and the elites among the majorities.

An education programme, in order to become an effective instrument of development in a plural society, must give support to the development of bi- and multi-lingual competence in the polity and build bridges between illiteracy and functional language, between language(s) of low functionality and language(s) of knowledge at different stages of education. Drop out, stagnation, wastage in formal education, persistence in illiteracy, erosion in the quality of education and forces of disunity and disintegration can only be effectively fought by recognising multiple languages and cultures as resources to build upon.

In plural societies oral culture dominates non-formal communication. In the culture of the school, although oral communication determines the quality and momentum of interaction, it is the written language which is the language of textbooks and other instructional content. That is why children entering the school encounter hostility in the teacher, teaching material and methods employed to transmit knowledge.

The traditional societies of developing countries are dominated by adults. Adults not only decide what is of interest to the children. Most children's books are written by authors who pretend to know age and level-specific language of children and in the name of graded reading material dish out by and large, uninteresting and uninspiring material. These have little relevance to the abilities the child acquires through informal and intimate communication with its eco-culture.

In plural societies where majorities plan for minortiy education, they also decide what is good for the minorities. Invariably, in the name of integration nationhood, economic benefits, political compulsions, the minorities are called upon to give up their language and culture and assimilate the majority view. The minority children thus begin schooling with double handicap, one being the gap between their own language and the school language, and the other gap between the spoken language to which they are somewhat exposed and the written language.

Like India, most Third World developing countries have a colonial past. Through colonial language teaching-research, the host countries are exposed to all theories and practices prevalent in their respective countries. In the name of modernization, schools chase the mirage of changing methods and materials, all of which are not rooted in the cultural ethos, and all of which lead to shadow cognition and contribute to greater confusion.

In the dominant monolingual milieu, one language is considered a barrier in learning another and many languages are considered inconvenient. In the multilingual context, where many languages are learnt naturally and effortlessly and many languages complement one another in many domains, one language is a facilitator in acquiring another. In the absense of pedagogical strategies for bridging transition from one language to another and in the face of condemnation of multilingualism by the elite committed to the values of dominant monolingualism, language education suffers on all counts. Since there is ample evidence of correlation of mathematical skill and language skill, there is no wonder that mathematics education becomes poorer in these countries. Since the proficiency required for the acquisition of knowledge through various medium languages is seldom attained, the education system as a whole remains bereft of creativity and innovativeness. It remains a pale replica of the colonial education system serving the elite's interest.

There is still a good deal of confusion about *learning a language, learning about a language, learning through a language and language as a factor in the psychological development of a child or a person*. Therefore, there is equal confusion about establishing goals for a language learning programme. No wonder that age and grade level-specific language proficiency scales are still not available in the country.

Neither the traditional three Rs nor the learning of modern skills, exhaust the transactional contexts of language use. While materials progress from the smallest grammatical elements to discourse and text, the reverse process of breaking a text into analytical structural components are not unknown. However, as grammar-translation method still reigns supreme, most learning material is presented through compulsory texts and supplementary or optional reading.

In the field of initial literacy, the major points of departure are provided by the Central Institute of Indian Languages. It has designed a presentational device for the classroom, the underlying assumptions of which are (a) Shape similarity, (b) Pattern perception, and (c) Contrastive observation. Instead of the dictionary order in which the alphabet is traditionally memorised, letters are presented in groups according to the similarity of their shape. Contrastive features keeping two units within a group are emphasised while teaching learning, thus hastening recognition and retention. Words are formed, first using the letters of one group and subsequently with all groups available to the learner. While so doing the secondary symbols of vowels are freely used from the beginning. It may be emphasised here that, although languages of India belong to four families, all writing systems, barring Roman and Perso-Arabic, belong to a single family. This underlying unity is exploited for easy learning as well as transfer from one script to the other.

'The right to know is like the right to life', wrote Bernard Shaw. 'It is fundamental and unconditional in its assumption that knowledge, like life, is a desirable thing'. In a multilingual and pluricultural world one language cannot be the vehicle of required knowledge. So is the case of a pluricultural country.

Keeping in mind the needs of its multilingual policy, India has adopted a three-language formula as *strategy for education.* Any child passing through the school system is required to learn the state official language, which is the majority mother tongue in the state, the official language and associate official language of the Union, Hindi and English. As the state official language is the language of wider communication within the state, Hindi and English are languages of wider communication within the subcontinent of India. They complement one anothes in their use in different domains, styles and registers. Besides these major and educationally recognised languages of wider communication there are intervening layers of languages of wider communication such as Nagamese in the North East India, Sadani or Sadari in the Central India and Desia in the South Eastern India, whose education·potential is yet to be examined. Being languages of communication among tribals and non-tribuls of the regions they have greater integrative potential which could be used as educational springboard for further education.

There is an inspired debate in the country about the number of languages to be learnt, the stage and age at which a second and further language is to be introduced, the efficacy of mother tongue education, many languages as factors of integration or discord and disunity, and the need for adopting a single national language for promoting national integration. Those who engage in this debate juxtapose ethnic identity with political unity, learning of many languages with quality of education, localism with nationalism and internationalism, and regional language with national language. These debates favour the privileged and the vested interests who refuse to see that the three levels of education envisaged by the Education Commission of India (1963-66) correlate with the three socialisation processes (Singleton 1973 : 7-21). They are blind to the fact that one code with its diverse dialects, sociolects, styles and registers operating in a complementary manner in different codes so operating in diverse domain and stages. (Srivastava 1985) In·view of the realities existing in the third world countries, the three-language formula as a strategy appears to have been a sound pedagogical posture.

With the waves of educational theories since World War II, the focus of concern at different times has shifted from the subject matter to the child and vice versa, but seldom to the medium. Thus while curricula have been expanded to provide for new subject matters and textbooks or emphasis has been given on the psycho-social development of the child, the medium of education has been taken for granted. In the process, various modes of language and contexts of their use in an interactive society have been lost sight of.

Caste studies show that both primary and secondary education are either a priority for white collar groups, or, are differentially available to white collar and non-white collar groups. In any case the effect of both on schooling is the same. The curriculum seeks to meet the aspirations of learners for white collar jobs and by and large becomes irrelevant to the large majority of children who come from lower middle class or working class homes. This orientation determines the curricular content and technology and techniques of learning.

Because of uncritical importation of theories and models even in the combination of education with production work one finds a broad spectrum. Jalaluddin (1985) categorises the various approaches in this regard as follows: '(a) Educational programmes and productive work are parallel activities without having any correlation. (b) Educational programmes are subordinate to productive work where educational programmes are introduced just to enable the learners to acquire certificates needed by the economy. (c) Production work is subordinate to academic curricula, where the aim of introducing production work is to illustrate or demonstrate theoretical knowledge; and (d) Academic curricula and production work are combined as a learning continuum with intimate correlation'. Needless to point out that even in this categorisation there is no awareness of the need and possibility of linking teaching register and context-specific language which could bridge the gap between the academic curricula and productive work.

Science and technology education is supposed to bring to bear a scientific temper on productive work. But research in universities, presents diverse scenes in formal and non-formal sectors of education. As King points out, 'The emphasis is on more and more information correctly remembered, and ideally quoted from the textbooks. The very goal of promoting more science can thus be counter-productive. Whole sections of science knowledge are pushed further and further down the school system ; concepts once taught in higher secondary are introduced in the primary school. The overloaded science syllabus then requires more traditional teaching and memorisation ; it is difficult to justify time on experimentation and discovery. Hence the increasingly academic status of science in school'.

'Different approaches to this oppressive teaching of science have tried over the last 15 years, particularly during the 1970s and most have sought to reinstate the importance of discovery, observation and independent judgement. Methodologies have included the use of kits, materials development, simplification of language, teacher orientation, national talent searches, science fairs, science centres, etc. In general, and perhaps inevitably, these activites of intervention and change have not been carefully monitored : the process of adding up what has been learnt is a decade old and more of experimentation is just beginning'.

All these new beginnings can still remain a non-starter as 'The persistence of English as the language of Indian Science and Technology automatically precludes the participation of the overwhelming majority of India's population in the scientific culture' (Ashok Rao 1981). Most children are forced to conceptualise and be creative in an alien medium ; not only because of English, but because of use of artificial standard and inappropriate register of Indian languages wherever they are used. As Kulkarni and Gambir (1981 : 48-49) have pointed out, the content may be satisfactory, but wrong language use bars communication and consequently remains a barrier to learning. Since the classroom practices and procedures are teaching centered, all these problems remain largely under-perceived.

If quality education is to be imparted to millions of children coming from diverse linguistic, socio-economic and eco-cultural settings, then the strategies adopted must be equally varied, while aiming at achieved comparable qualitative goals and targets. The system must be made interactive and learning accented.

PRIMARY EDUCATION : PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

Primary Education is receiving greater attention from educational policy makers and planners in the wake of the implementation of a new policy. The greatest problem in Primary Education is the lack of conviction and will on the part of key persons in the field about the worthwhileness and feasibility of any comprehensive action in this area. The problems of enrolment and retention are so massive that it frightens is most administrators to near inaction. Planning being essentially sectoral and allocative, there is a flutter at the beginning of each Pian period for allocation of funds to this sector Most of this money is spent for providing infrastructure. In spite of the increase in inputs, the output is poor both in qualitative and quantitative terms.

In the name of planning, the country is engaged in a continuous exercise which sometimes verges on ludicrousness. In the 4th Plan in a particular sector in education an ambitious plan was prepared for 20 crores. By the time the Plan went through the Task Force, the Planning Commission, the Administrative Ministry, their internal finance and external finance, the final allocation came to 98 lakhs. As a lot of time had elapsed in the process and the cumbersome administrative mechanism exercised further checks and controls, 32 lakhs out of the sum allocated was refunded unspent. The impression of the 5th Plan for education which had started with 3,200 crores and ended almost in a pittance is still green in the minds of those who were associated with this exercise. Everybody in the Government is worried whether money is spent according to rules, nobody is bothered whether the money is spent for the purpose for which it was earmarked or whether it has yielded any results. Primary education has been put in the core sector. Yet state governments constantly keep on transferring funds from this core sector to other core sectors and some times even to non-core sectors. If one looks at the fund allocation to Primary Education from the 1st Plan to the 5th, one will find that in spite of the overall increase in allocation, the increase in allocation is not commensurate with the increase in growth in this sector. Even the rate of increase itself in comparison to other sectors of education shows a disquieting trend. During the 30 years between 1947-77, Primary Education has increased threefold, whereas higher education has increased sixfold. Allocation of funds for Primary Education has dropped from 56 per cent in the 1st Plan to 28 per cent in the 5th Plan of the total outlay in Education. Under these circumstances the universalisation of Primary Education is bound to remain a slogan.

Nobody seems to be clear whether the aim is to universalise enrolment or universalise education, at the primary stage. When 75 to 85 out of every 100 drop out, wasted or stagnated by the end of Class V, there is no meaning in talking about enrolment figures. Yet the whole planning and debate on Primary Education seems to revolve around enrolment. Money is allocated for increasing enrolment, teachers are appointed on the basis of enrolment, mid-day meals and textbooks are provided on the basis of enrolment and consequently spurious statistics are worked out constantly. One is only to compare the primary enrolment figures with the drop out stagnation rate on the one hand and with that of the literacy figure on the other to discover the unreliability of this statistics. Everybody knows this but none dares challenge the vested interest and inertia.

In spite of all efforts the rate of growth of literacy is such that it is estimated that by 1981 the illiterate population would have crossed the total population in the country in 1961. That Primary Education is interlinked with this matter needs no demonstration other than showing that the 80 per cent drop out and stagnation and the 70 per cent illiteracy almost match to the point. Unless those who are enrolled are retained there is unlikely to be any perceptible improvement in the area of eradication of illiteracy.

There is a good deal of talk about motivating children to come to school, but there is little discussion about retaining those who are already sufficiently motivated to come. During the current planning exercise an effort has been made to focus attention on retention while increasing enrolment. Multiple point entry has been suggested as one of the strategies and curricular reform has also been suggested to the States. However, it must be understood that drop out and stagnation have many causes, prominent among which are the following (a): Gap between teacher competence and curricular demands. Unless new methods, materials and content developments are brought to the attention of the teacher, his teaching is bound to remain uninspiring. (b) Lack of a proper language strategy. Since language is a subject as well as the medium of thought and expression, only a proper language strategy which ensures identity affirmation, smooth transition from home language to school language.and enables the child to study subjects through that medium can motivate the child to continue. Lack of control over language skills results in poor performance in numeracy and Maths. Lack of communication between the teacher and the taught due to difference in the home language and the school language of the child is a major factor in drop out and stagnation. (c) Irrelevance of education to the needs of the learner. Rigidity in the formal system does not permit the child to help the parents in productive activities and forces them to study a standardised textbook which is not built around his areas of interest and experience. Only need based curricula, flexibility in approach, diversified textual material relevant to the needs of learners, increasing the competence of teacher are answers to this problem. Educational administrators who are worried about investment in textbooks, their storage and sale, the profit made from it and their supply on time naturally shudder at the thought of decentralised curricula, need based textual material and flexibility in time for reaching the desired objectives. As long as serious attention is not given to these aspects, it will be difficult to arrest drop out and stagnation.

In the discussion about the physical amenities, buildings, population, distance, free meal, free clothing and free books, concerned people have lost sight of the purpose of education. If the main purpose of education is to develop the potential of human resources, then Primary Education has been a sad failure. Under the weight of uniformity of curriculum, textbooks and even of school timings and vacations, irrespective of the ecological conditions, all the group specific traits and needs are levelled down. There is no earthly reason why school timings should be same at all placesh and all the year round. The school timings need to be adjusteds not only to free the child for certain period of the day to help the parents in productive activities or to engage them in creative activities but also free the school so that it could be used for other purposes, preferably as a Community Centre. Similarly there is no reason why the vacation should not be related to the regional cultural festivity, the crop cycle and the climatic condition. All this requires flexibility in the educational adminsitration. Some of these have already been attempted in States like Manipur which shows that if other States so desire, these changes could be brought about.

There are confusions and contradictions all the way through. Non-formal education is a new entrant in the discussion parlour of Primary Education. Some visualise it as useful to the teachers whereas orhers think it necessary for students. While some conceive of non-formal education as imparting formal education through Radio, Television, Films, postal correspondence or a combination of some of these, others think of it as education through entertainment, without syllabus. Some even equate education with a vocational bias with non-formal education. Unfortunately, most people talking about it in the context of 6 to 11 group are not clear either about its content or its character. Many even believe that it is altogether a different kind of education with objectives different from formal schooling. It is heartening that under the new dispensation efforts are being made to try out non-formal programmes in this area. Hopefully this will bring about some clarity.

There is equal lack of clarity about curricular objectives. It is generally accepted by educationists that the Primary Education is essentially language education. Desheriyev, the famous Russian linguist and educationist, says that language is both the content and the medium of primary education. Language and arithmetic are considered by many as the most important subjects to be emphasized at the primary level. Recent UNESCO Conference, while establishing links between the mathematical and language skills, suggests that if a child's language skills are poor, his mathematical skills are also found to be poor. The ambiguities inherent in language must be understood if mathematics is to be taught properly. In defining line and point, in explaining set and arrangement, for example, one can easily be tricked and create confusion because of uncritical use of language.

Whether for concept formation, creative and harmonious cognitive development, establishing cultural rootedness and yet curing the child of ethno-centricism, language education need receive priority at the primary stage. But all concerned are most reluctant to talk about it. There has been no effort to make empirical studies about language as a factor in unequal opportunities, wastage and stagnation.

Commissions and Committees which prescribe language formulas for education have seldom had the benefit of expert linguistic advice. Thus whether it is time allocation or textbook preparation, prescriptions are given without reference to needs, curricular objectives and teacher competence. The language needs of linguistic minorities are almost never touched by these pundits. As a result of the gross neglect of language education right from the primary stage, its cumulative effect has devastating consequences for higher education.

The constitution puts an obligation to provide primary education through the mother tongue. The concept of mother tongue is fuzzy and eliciting mother tongue through a self-evaluatory response yielded 1652 mother tongues in 1961, which included caste, place, sect and script names as mother tongue. In view of the multiplicity of mother tongues the planners are so scared to talk about the problem that they even refuse to discuss the need for evolving an academic strategy to help the child to switch over from the home language to the school language. They have no strategy to bring the 1652 tributaries to the 14 main streams in which higher education is available. Whenever this question is raised it is argued by the conventional pundits that it is neither possible nor desirable to teach the child his dialect; it is also not practicable to prepare textbooks in so many dialects. This is gross distortion of the concept of bilingual education which has been suggested as the programme to bridge the gap between the home language and the school language. The question is not one of teaching the dialect but recognising the language resources the child brings to the school as the basis to build further competence. The question is not of writing textbooks in each dialect, but orienting the teacher so that the language resources of the child are used as foundation for further education. Since most primary teachers are recruited from the local areas this cannot be such an insurmountable problem.

The problem of dialect speakers, linguistic minorities and tribal children can only be solved through bilingual primary education. By bilingual primary education is meant here a strategy of transfer from the home language to school language in an orderly progression so that by the post primary stage the child is ready to study through the medium of that school language (Pattanayak 1977). This is not a detraction from the constitutional obligation, but a fulfilment. If the child learns entirely through, say Tamil in Calcutta, up to the 5th standard, at the 6th standard he is either forced to go to Tamilnadu where higher education is available through Tamil, or start Bengali in the 6th standard and carry the burden of inequality throughout his educational career. The simple fact that a child cannot use the language as the medium if he does not know it sufficiently is not understood by educational planners. As it is preposterous to ask a child learning ABCD to read a lesson in Civics or Chemistry in English, it is equally ridiculous to ask the child learning Ka, Kha, Ga, Gha in Kannada, Marathi or Bengali to study subjects through the medium of that language. Unless the child coming from a dialect zone or a linguistic minority home speaking a language different from the school language is helped to acquire the school language to a level of proficiency which would permit him to stay near equal with those who use the school language as their home language, inequality is bound to persist.

The problem of the large majority of students whose home language is the same as the school language is no less acute. First of all there is the problem of curriculum. Over the years the mindless change of Social Studies into History, Geography and Civics, General Science into Physics, Chemistry, Biology, etc., and the introduction of new Mathematics, without taking into account the teacher competence and the teacher preparation has created a major crisis. The vested interest in textbook writing and textbook production are responsible for proliferation of textbooks. The parents accepted the increasing textbooks as part of the modernisation of their children's education.

There is a good deal of talk about curricular load. Different people mean different things by this. Without going into the details of this question it may suffice to point out that the primary syllabus in Maharashtra in the year 1824 included "the study of Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, History of England and India, Geography, Astronomy, Natural Philosophy, Algebra, Euclidean Geometry". Even in 1940, the Primary Education Syllabus included "Mother tongue, Hindustani, Arithmetic, History and Civics, Geography, General Science, Domestic Science (for girls' schools) Hand-work, Needle work, Drawings and Physical Training". These were hailed as model syllabuses at that time. If the child is given proper language competence to handle the concepts in subjects and not loaded merely with information and textbooks, the education need not be considered as a burden.

The writers of the textbooks in almost all cases has no idea of the role of language both as subject and as medium. They have no idea of the age or grade specific vocabulary of the chlid. Skill oriented language teaching and the strategies to be adopted for them is quite foreign to them. Subject specific books are information loaded and there is no effort to clarify concepts and indicate the interdisciplinary implications, thus laying the foundation for knowledge.

Educationists in their zeal to say something different often fall back on the slogan of more socially productive manual work for school children. Some have even recommended reduction of school time to provide for more manual work and recreation in school. One of the arguments put forward for drop out, wastage and stagnation is the prevalent condition where the child helps the family in productive activities. If it is so, then instead of recognising that work for academic purposes, what good would it do to provide manual work in school ? Moreover, how is 'making tooth powder, soap, disinfectant, detergent powder, hair oil, brooms, waste paper baskets', etc., are more socially productive manual work than helping the parents in food gathering, agriculture or cattle tending ? Do the teachers have the competence to carry on 'experiment with different kinds of soil seeds and manure, vegetable propagation by breeding and grafting, making of jam, jelley, etc., bakery items, white washing of walls, door polishing, toy making, pottery and painting' ? I am afraid that this will result in further polarisation of rural and urban, socially backward and the privileged. Lessening the school time will also harm the interests of the socially backward who cannot compete with children from middle class homes who have the benefit of home study. It is most unfortunate that educationists who are responsible for education being what it is are called upon to provide leadership for a new revolution. It is no wonder that they either play the number game dividing the school education in different permutations and combinations or in spite of paying lip sympathy to change become prisoners of old thinking and old habits.

So far mid-day meal is considered to be the prime motivating factor for children. The financial exercise made in the beginning of the Fifth Plan shows that the country's resources are not adequate to bear the entire burden of mid-day meals for all children. It is high time that alternatives, no matter in howsoever small measures, be sought to this helpless dependence on one incentive scheme. One suggestion is to convert a limited number of primary schools in each state on an experimental basis as parent-student education centres. Each school or cluster of schools should have craft teachers who could teach crafts to the mothers and sisters of the children enrolled. Teaching of craft, if imaginatively selected would not only be a motivating factor, but also can be self-paying. While the adult women can create interest in the children in work through their own examples, they can also read and write with them.

Literacy for them, thus, would form an integral part of this education, which could benefit both adults and children. This way the community not only partly assumes responsibility for the education of their children, better integration of the home and the school could be achieved in the process. Women's literacy, and the enrolment of girls which is the lowest in the country could also be handled in a meaningful way through these centres. If this experiment in community biased human development succeeds, this can be further expanded and the character of primary education can be radically changed.

Traditional education has been a passive career of middle class values, through an arbitrarily chosen standard. Unless an academic strategy bridges the peoples' languages with the chosen standards the mosaic of values of a pluralistic society are unlikely to be reflected in education. The present education aims at the conversion of the past into the future. It does not bring both past and the future to the present. The present education system as well as the educationists do not appreciate the fact that experience is filtered through language and making this experience a cognitive structure is possible through evolving and implementing a rational language policy. Unless the new thinking veers away from the texbook centred teacher dominated class room instruction and accepts the learning child as the centre of curriculum, there is little hope of any qualitative change in the field of Primary Education.

CRISIS IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA

There have been significant changes in the field of higher education during the last three decades. The phenomenal growth in the number of colleges and universities, the high enrolement and turn over of degree holders, the increase in the teacher salaries, the six-fold increase in the higher education budget provide some indicators of the progress made. On the other side of the balance sheet is the high percentage of drop-out, the ever-growing educated unemployed, the drain of skilled manpower and the continuing chorus of concern about the lowering standards of teaching. From this, one cannot escape the two apparent conclusions. The productive capacity of the system has gone up but the relevance of the product has gone down. The teacher has been rehabilitated, but the degree has been devalued. "The salary of a university teacher is nearly five times higher than the primary teacher and three times higher than the secondary teacher. The university teacher gets 2.5 times higher salaries than the senior secondary teacher who has more or less the same qualifications" (*Patriot 1969 Apr. 8)*.

The devaluation of the degree can be seen from the fact that there are more graduates for jobs which require SSLC qualification. Also the fact that according to the UNCTAD study on the 1971 base line India exported 900 crores worth trained manpower goes to prove that the product of higher education is irrelevant for the country itself but serves the cause of other countries. Secondly, the heavy input and infrastructural investment not only fails to alter the fundamental short comings, but masks them and often strengthens them. More investment has produced more of the same thing rather than bringing about radical transformation. The higher input in Central Universities results in per capita higher expenditure for units of education, leaving the question of standards in open issue. The distinction between the Central and State Universities is one of difference in the source of funding. But this has resulted in such absurdities as paying City Compensatory Allowance to staff in Santiniketan and Aligarh while the three universities in the city of Calcutta do not get it.

The cause of the irrelevance of product is rooted in the system itself. The system lays greater emphasis on quantitative expansion rather than on qualitative managerial or structural change. The present education system is alien, through an improvement on the one set by the British. It is not conceived as a process of socialisation to one's own culture and ethos. Any talk of change, .therefore, either not related to or based on the ignorance of tradition, is spurious and superficial. Secondly, there is a great deal of talk about .raising the standards of higher education. The standard is not set by Indian scholars keeping in view the Indian intellectual tarditions and the needs of Indian societies. The standards are dictated by the developed countries. Therefore, the acceptance or rejection by the U.K. and the U.S.A. of our Medical and other degrees creates such commotion in our country. I have not seen an Indian educationist who says that a British or American degree is inadequate to conduct research in the fields of Humanities and Social Sciences in India, and, therefore, preparatory courses should be offered to intending scholars pursuing research in these fields in India. On the other hand, without basic grounding either in English or in an Indian language, Iranian and some other Asian students are permitted to take Degrees including Medicine and Engineering. Indian education is, thus, if at all, furthering the cuase of world education rather than of its own.

There is no comprehensive approach to the question of standards. One rule requires a minimum of 50 per cent or more marks for enrolment in the M.Phil. But there is no such rule for the Ph.D. As a result, relatively poor candidates score in many ways over brighter candidates. There is another strange contradiction relating to the question of standards in the field of higher education. Standards are constantly lowered for specific regions, castes and subjects while at the same time clamouring for high standards. Many use an argument in favour of the minorities as a convenient handle to beat the opponents espousing the cause of the majority. Unfortunately, it is not understood that the relationship between the majority and the minority is not one of opposition, but one of interdependence. Therefore, the standards of higher education need not be lowered in competition with one another.

A major cause of irrelevance is the urban base of institutions of higher learning. The population of India is overwhelmingly rural. But institutions of higher learning are not only located in urban centres, they create urbanised individuals far removed from the rural ethos. The nearest parallel is found in Nepal, which presents a beautiful picture of such imbalance and the crisis resulting from it. Keeping in view the 'Distribution and mobility of graduates in Nepal, (Gurung 1965) the authors of Nepal in Crisis observe, "Thus Kathmandu not only producing more graduates and thus senior officials than elsewhere, largely as a result of concentration of wealth, power and educational facilities in the capital, but drains graduates from outlying regions, turning these regions into exporters of highest quality skilled manpower" (Blaikie 1980 : 97). The 5,00,000 Indian villages denuded of skilled manpower, the cities overcrowded by educated unemployed, the bureaucracy packed by city oriented products of a system largely ignorant of and insensitative to the rural ethos are some of the causes and consequences of the irrelevance of the system.

A cursory look at the major components of the Indian population and their vocational interest and the course structure on the Indian universities is enough to prove the irrelevance of higher education, 90 per cent of the total population of India is engaged in or dependent on agriculture. The conventional universities have little to do with agriculture. There is also greater reluctance on the part of funding agencies to support agriculture-related research where such interests exist in conventional universities. There is a sizeable scheduled caste and scheduled tribe population in India. There is very little relevant study in the universities about this sector. The Anthropology, Sociology, Linguistics and Political Science departments study problems relating to them in an isolated manner, but interdisciplinary study for the development of such an important segment is almost nonexistent. In 1969-70 a meeting of the top social scientists from Indian universities was called to discuss among other things the question of scheduling and descheduling tribes. After two days of intense discussions the consensus was that 15 years research is necessary to establish the criteria for scheduling and descheduling tribes. I do not know of the final outcome, but I am sure if such a conference was called today the consensus would not be very much different. India has a large frontier. In the north and the north-east there are cultures and problems little known to the rest of the country. None of the universities have a department of Frontier studies. The list can be lengthened with telling effect. But it will be incomplete without mention of languages. As Jack Goody (1977 : 37) says, "Culture after all, is a series of communicative acts, and differences in the mode of communication are often as important as differences in the mode of production, for they involve developments in the storing, analysis and creation of human knowledge, as well as the relationships between the individuals involved." Our Social Science Departments do not have even marginal interests in languages. Even there are not full-fledged departments to study the four language families in the country. French, German, Russian are still the major pre-occupations of universities and institutes. Those working on Asia have to depend on secondary data in the absence of access to Asian languages. This shows how little Asia and Asian development count in the eyes of intellectuals. As modernization is equated with westernization relatively greater emphasis is given to the western languages, values and modes and the system is geared to develop initiative styles and approaches.

Language as medium of education has a major role in maintaining as well as lowering the quality of education in India. The elite is in favour of English, which they consider a status symbol. As education has bypassed the majority, the national consensus is in favour of a switchover to regional language media which is expected not only to increase the access to education, but also establish a viable relation between tradition and change. The lukewarm attitude of the academics towards the switchover has resulted in half-hearted teaching of both English and the regional languages and consequently lowering of the general standard of education. The grudging switchover of only 52 per cent of universities to the regional language media, the total confusion arising from the unpreparedness in not being able to evolve suitable methods and materials, are examples of lack of firm leadership in this area.

While Indian scientists abroad write thesis on the 'coloration of potato chips under different viscosity and heat conditions' or 'on the effect of frost on stone', the antiquarians at home write about the 'Flying Saucers or share cropping in the Vedas.' Most research efforts are to legitimise or find proof for western theories or to fit Indian data in competing western models. No wonder that there is little innovative and original research relevant to the needs and aspirations of the large majority of people.

The conscientious among the Indian academics are disturbed by the educational deprivation of the "Exclusion of a vast majority of the people from the process of education is a most disturbing aspect of educational and social planning." But none of them sees and is disturbed by the privilege bestowed by the system on microscopic minority and is disturbed by the inequity perpetrated by the system. Even when out of such superficial concern for the majority, the formal education system tries to reach out, the motivation is clear from the statement, "It is obvious that the enormous system of formal education cannot remain aloof from the programme ; it has to be its instrument as well as its ultimate beneficiary." All new experiments have brought added privileges to those who are benefitted by formal education. By adding newer disciplines of study, by linking the new experimentation with the existing curriculum, and by providing incentives and rewards to teachers and students, the formal system has sought to strengthen itself. No new alternatives have come from the higher education system as a result of social concern.

It is not necessary to labour hard to prove that mere additional infrastructural input is likely to further accentuate the existing inquities and contradictions. While the present education system has succeeded in establishing a measure of cohesion among elites across class, caste and regional boundaries, it has promoted increasing differentiation between the highly schooled, the not-so-highly schooled and unschooled within each community and region. Doh Joon-Chien (1980 : 11) characterises this class of elites appropriately when he says, "Thev may be occupying academic positions in institutions of heigher learning, positions of responsibility in international agencies, in government or in the private sector. Members of the intellectually colonised group exhibit, to varying extent, a large number of common characteristics which set them apart from the "common folks" of Asia. Gunnar Myrdal says that such Westernised Asians are more a "part of the intellectual life of the Cosmopolitan world than they are of their indigenous cultures" (Myrdal 1970 : 156) This class of privileged elite who appropriate to themselves all rank, status and wealth, thus act as the instrument for the setting of an inegalitarian society contrary to the avowed declaration of the Indian Constitution. India is only an example of such distorted economic growth in developing countries where high spending in higher education in the name of the development of the modern sector led to gross inequities between the urban and rural beneficiaries of the system. The United Nations took note of such imbalances in development as early as 1970 and the World Bank issued its first comprehensive policy paper on education 1971. In spite of the emphasis of the World Bank that "One must think of education, therefore, not only as a "sector" of developmental parallel, for example, to agriculture or industry but as a pervasive element that must be integrated horizontally and vertically into all development efforts" (*Education* 1980 Apr.) There has been little change in the approaches to education in most developing countries. In India education is not only treated as sector in planning, even within education Primary, Secondary, Higher and Non-formal are considered as sectors thus failing to maintain inter-sectoral equilibrium and achieve democratization in the distribution of education.

In countries like India, there appears to be a conflict between development and distribution of the production of development. There is no wonder therefore that the values of the beneficiaries of development will be reflected in the education system. The reality is that these beneficiaries are the intellectual followers of the west rather than intellectual leaders of their countries. With higer education controlled by and benefitting such a minority elite, with regional and sub-regional universities proliferating and with declared support for scheduled caste universities, the concept of university "as being our society's engagement with pure value" is almost non-existent. F.R.Leavis said that "the real university is a centre of consciousness and human responsibility for the civilized world; it is a creative centre of civilization......" who, familiar with the affairs of universities today, can claim the existing universities to be universities in this sense ? In the midst of societies where commodity value is cherished more, it is difficult to expect the universities to generate use values. But if the university system does not provide the lead education is bound to degenerate.

The University Grants Commission, in spite of many academic innovations to its credit, has been working more as an administrator of grants rather than an organization upholding standards. Over the past years in its internal structure it has put more emphasis on the administrative sector. There have been many pronouncements against the proliferation of universities and yet the UGC has not been able to resist political pressure for the creation of regional universities. I know of universities which have granted M.Sc., Degrees in Industrial Chemistry and Marine Geology with only a temporary lecturer manning a department. UGC has been unable to stop such Degrees. UGC has been powerless in the face of the powerful lobby which gives Degrees for a price. It has also not been able to stand up to the fraud perpetrated by unscrupulous academics and not so alert Vice-Chancellors. In a certain university, the UGC gave 3 posts during the 3rd plan for a certain discipline. These three posts were distributed among three other disciplines. Three more posts were claimed and obtained for strengthening the non-existent department during the Fourth Plan. During the Fifth plan a plea was made to set up the Department. But it is unfair to hold the UGC alone responsible for all the ills of higher education. It is important that there is policy coordination with the Government ensuring compatibility between educational policies and policies of recruitment to various jobs, more specifically because the Government today is the largest employment agency. Today in Karnataka alone there are 38 Engineering Colleges. Although there are about 8,000 unemployed Engineers, there is a chorus of demands for more Engineering colleges. Similar is the case with Medicine. The proliferation of colleges has already triggered considerable resentment. The Planning Commission, the UGC, the UPSC and the Central and State Governments have to work in unison if manpower planning is to be effectively carried out. What is crucial, however, is a strong political will to change and nationalise education. Without academic bureaucracies manning education departments, without college and university teachers establishing professional standards and without the students being alert about the future of education, many of the maladies cannot be checked and rectified. Institutions and individuals at the helms of affairs, however, cannot escape responsibility and accountability.

TRIBAL EDUCATION AND TRIBAL LANGUAGES : A NEW STRATEGY

Orissa occupies a unique position in the tribal map of India. The 62 groups declared as scheduled tribes in the Presidential Order of 1956 constitute 23.22 of the population of the State. The Scheduled area constituting 46.8 per cent of the total area of the State houses 60.65 per cent of the total tribal population. The rest are distributed among almost all the districts. The tribals in Orissa are either speakers of languages belonging to the Munda family or Dravidian. Orissa with 56.58 per cent of its population below poverty line presents a bleak picture as far as severe destitution of tribals are concerned. This should be treated as a national problem. Orissa needs to seek solution which would show the way to other states having similar problems.

The old approach to education is so overwhelming that even tribal educators of India have pointed out the 'need for a well thought-out uniform policy for the whole of India with regard to education in tribal areas'. Their pleading that 'this policy need not be interpreted or applied too rigidly' is a grudging recognition of local and regional variation of problems and sounds almost pathetic. This is typical of the mind of the educated middle class elite which speaks of progressive plans but check effective implementation. The so-called progressivism is utopian and romantic and not based on the needs and plan is intended.

One could take one of the two conventional approaches while discussing education. Following the sectoral approach one could talk of the primary, the secondary and the higher education and provide statistics to show growth or retardation of education in each of the sectors. One could present statistics regarding stagnation and wastage in each sector of education and relate it to societal factors. One could also talk about adult education, formal and non-formal education and assess the achievements and failures over a period of time. Alternately, one could talk about structural problems of management and inspection. For example, in some states tribal schools are run by three agencies, the education department, the tribal welfare department and voluntary agencies. As education departments have no special staff, the tribal welfare departments have no expertise in the field of education, one could cite examples in different states where tribal schools have not been inspected for ten years if not more. However, unless one is clear about the goals of education and is familiar with both the macro and micro context of the tribal societies it is not possible to talk meaningfully about tribal education.

Education is a tool of transmission of culture, accumulated knowledge and experience of a society. It is also the tool for economic betterment and societal change. Today all educationists are talking of uniformity in design, content and structure of education. There is no wonder that there is such confusion about the purpose and goal of general education, not to speak of tribal education.

There are many worlds within our world. There are also many worlds within India. There appears to be a continuum between the developed and the developing, between the rich and the poor. As in the international field there are the developed countries in relation to which India is developing within the developing world, India is developed in comparison to say, Mali, the GNP of which is so low that it does not find a place in the GNP map of Africa. Within a developing country, the great divide seems to be between the rich and the poor. The poor in its turn, is divided between the urbean and the rural poor, the tribals coming at the bottom of the rural.

India provides a very interesting case study for social change. A melting pot of several language families, ethnic groups and a mosaic of cultural patterns, India presents a unique case of cultural pluralism bound by a single thread of cultural homogeneity. Therefore one would expect variety rather than uniformity in education, both as flowering and expression of the cultural diversity and as strategies to meet the divere needs and aspirations of different cultural groups. But the existing uniform structure and content of education caters to neither and is by and large irrelevant to most sectors of the society.

The elitist base of present education strengthens the metropolitan and rural vested interest, which has little commitment to the developmental needs and economic priorities of the rural sector in general and rural poor in particular. On the contrary the vested interest groups are against fundamental economic change which has the slightest possibility of threatening their interests and privileges.

The rich are almost always identified as elites and the elites hold the passport to rank, status and wealth in most societies. Their behaviour is not only the model, their language is invariably the standard to be emulated by others. If one looks at the Indian scene one can see that the economically rich areas within each state are the focal areas as far as standard languages are concerned. Thus as Krishnamurthi points out, in Andhra Pradesh "The Central area - Krishna-Godavari river belt - being economically rich has produced a conscious elite" (Krishnamurthi 1972) and this is the area the language of which is the standard for Telugu. For the tribal who is in the owest rung poverty and social hierarchy, the distance from eliticism as well as the standard form of the language is so great as to be insurmountable.

In the classification of poverty, the tribals come in the lowest rung and are below the subsistence level. But it must be remembered that richness and poverty are not facts of tribal life. They are implanted by the non-tribals and by the educated. Therefore, the tribal looks both with suspicion. While the tribals are made conscious about their poverty, neither a will to change nor dissatisfaction at the rate of change is created in them. They are neither a party to the planning for change nor have they any role in its implementation. Therefore, the education system which engenders such planning, pulverises their social status and self-respect and converts them into masses is regarded by the tribals as irrelevant.

One can also see this process of dehumanization as a spectrum. As a man from a developing country, no matter how qualified he is, is willing to subject himself to relatively lower status and low income in comparison with comparable categories of citizens in developed countries, a person from a village is willing to give up the pride in traditional social status in favour of a salary earning menial job in the city. A tribal who is taught about his inferior status in the caste ridden hierarchical society of the non-tribal, is forced into seeking menial jobs like peons or attenders outside their own area after coming out of Ashram Schools/Secondary Schools. As Desai (1975) puts it, education "creates occupational differentiation affecting role differentiations and consequently social interactions". The alienation of the educated tribal is thus complete, while the uneducated fatalistically resign themselves to their poor lot.

Thus it will be seen that whether it is from the point of view of economic development or social betterment, the present educational system offers very little to the tribal community.

Why separate attention need be given to tribal education?

a) Tribal social structure is different from that of the non-tribals. Different ethnic groups have different structural problems.

b) The tribes are at different levels of economic organization. By and large they are food gatherers, hunters, shifting cultivators and artisans. Their life cycle is different from the non-tribal.

c) The tribes are dispersed in large areas, not always easily accessible. This, coupled with the fact that a tribal village consists hamlets make rational organization of schools difficult.

d) The tribes encompass all the four language families. Many small groups speaking diverse languages and dialects which are mostly unwritten find communication and education difficult. Both education managers and teachers erroneously consider economic and societal reasons responsible for low achievement. The fact that language plays a major role in the low performance and consequent low self-image of the tribal child has not been properly appreciated.

e) As there is no education in the family background for generations, and the tribal child living in the fringes of non-tribal society finds himself cognitively unequal to the non-tribal child, the inferiority complex is built into his mind right from the beginning of formal schooling. In this connection it may be pointed out that although the country has an overall literacy of 29.35 per cent, the ST literacy is only 11.29 per cent. This is one of the factors responsible for the lower educational achievement of the children. As the adults are not convinced of the benefits of formal education, it is not possible to escape the large scale wastage and stagnation.

f) In the absence of trained ST candidates, outsiders are appointed as teachers and administrators, who without access to their language, lack first-hand communication.

In view of all these tribal education can never be uniform. It must seek solutions to group specific problems in different states. There is a misplaced apprehension in some quarters that in finding separate solutions for integration of different groups, the seeds of disunity may grow. It must, however, be understood that the distinction is between apathetic attitude leading to inaction on the part of the planners which gets a response of dissatisfaction verging on hatred towards the system and its managers and a conscious strategy based on empathy leading to a national unity based on self-fulfilment of small groups. A conscious strategy of unity in diversity cannot lead to disunity.

Anthropologists and welfare workers have added to the confusion in no small measure. Some anthropologists and social workers are responsible for the notion that the tribal represents a twentieth century old stone age culture. Some want this culture to be preserved and are dead against modernity affecting it in any way. Others want them to be modernized and civilized. As one group in the name of preservation of culture has no compunction in making them perform in state capitals on festive occasions, the other group in the name of development has no compunction in depriving the tribal of his land, his vocation and destroy his social institutions. The debate among the change oriented and the no-changers among anthropologists has perplexed the education planners. Is the kind of education imparted today instrumental in destroying the social fabric of the tribals ? Can it be used to protect them against the threatening urbanization ? These value loaked questions and the debates on them neither help the tribal nor the planner.

The welfare worker who is mostly guided by a guilt complex or a false sense of sympathy towards the tribal considers every activity as liberal charity. Thus all their activities are aimed at solving the immediate need of the tribal rather than creating muscle in them to bear their own burden. The attitude of the Union and state governments, which have special responsibilities for promotion of tribal education under Article 46 of the Indian Constitution, is by and large guided by welfare consideration. As LRN Srivastav sums up the facilities extended by the governments, they are provision of 'school buildings, teachers, free studentship, free textbooks, and at selected places free board and lodging facilities and midday meals'. All of these may create conditions for education, but certainly none of them singly or all' of them jointly could be called education.

A section of people in the government treat the tribal problem as one of law and order. Whether it is shifting cultivation, utilization of forest produce or tribal justice, which are intimately connected with their life style are treated as transgression of laws promulgated by and for the non-tribals. The tribal is then punished for his cultural values, his life style and his ethos about which judgement has already been passed by a ruling society which he naturally considers enemical to his interest. There is no wonder that the tribal people are not keen to take advantage of facilities of education which then appears to be calculated to destroy their social fabric.

The educationist who confuses educational goals with the above is naturally led astray. When an educationist talks of opposition between 'science based' and 'culture based' curriculum for the tribal, he is a victim of confusion. First of all, science and culture are not exclusive concepts. Secondly, it is wrong to think that as regards the prevalence or otherwise of scientific attitudes, a tribal society is in any great measure different from the non-tribal societies. Thirdly arts, crafts and floklore are as important components of education as tales of scientific inventions. There is no reason why both cannot be given for both tribals and non-tribals.

One of the major problems confronting tribal educators is the mixed school. Those who take tribals for granted use this as excuse for inaction and those who wish to do something are baffled. The problem arises primarily because education systems today put all students in a uniform mould, expecting them to reach a specific target within a single time scale. Educationists have no solutions for the socially oppressed, for those who are first generation school goers. Unless structural changes are made in the present schools and flexibility of approach adopted, this problem cannot be solved. The only solution lies in breaking the curriculum into courses and credit and permitting the children to complete the required number of courses at their own pace. Unless education gives a chance to the socially deprived and economically backward to overcome their past deficiencies, it will remain a club of the privileged. It is then bound to crumble under the weight of its own irrelevance.

Educationists have often spoken of the problem-solving education. The problems posed by the elitist teacher and the textbook is not the problem of life. If at all such problems have any relevance, then they are relevant to the lives of the privileged. As the formal education system expects the child to conform to the logic of the present which has kept him submerged in ignorance and poverty, he has little motivation for giving attention to it, not to speak of pursuing it with any seriousness. Education for tribals and other such socio-economically under privileged can only be meaningful if it is problem-posing rather than problem solving.

In the context of tribal education, a ridiculous notion is work experience. To waste formal education time for a child coming from a working class family and engaged in productive work at home on work experience or some fancy programmes under vocationalisation scheme is nothing but preposterous. Unless the tribal culture is related to productivity in a manner relevant to the tribal social life and economy, credit is given to the child's work at home and his latent skills are recognised and developed in the school as part of the educational programme, education would remain an empty slogan for the tribal.

The tribal child is in some ways different from the non-tribal. So is the tribal adult learner. This difference stems from the differing socio-economic and cultural pattern of the tribals. Unfortunately, most educated people confuse this difference with deficiency in the tribal mind. This confusion stemming largely from ethnocentricism finds its expression in statements like 'Saora has 700 words', 'It is not possible to discuss high culture in tribal languages', etc. This mentality also finds its expression in the insinuation that the tribal is less social and less national if not anti-social and anti-national. Therefore, experts on tribal education time and again have recommended that "both primary education and social education should be given wide coverage especially in educationally backward tribal areas or communities", and in stating the aims of tribal education have emphasized that, "the educational institutions and processes should strengthen forces of national integration." In a country as diverse in ethnicity, language, religion and regional culture, national integration is a necessary goal. But to single out the tribals for education in national integration betrays a mind which is basically parochial and ethnocentric. As has been pointed out earlier, problems in tribal education is an extreme case of education of socially oppressed, tribal or non-tribal. Therefore, to submerge the tribals with extra-paternalism only because of their being tribals not only does not give any new insight to the solution of their problems, but promotes and sustains separatism.

Tribal education must be viewed as an integrated programme, both from the point of curriculum and distribution of the gains of education. For example, the tribal schools must have an integrated curriculum in which science, social studies, arithmetic and language, etc., not compartmentalised, but form part of well defined object of learning. Following this approach the textbooks should contain topics on physical environment, personal and social hygiene, social institutions and the like. The skills of language as a subject and language as a medium should be concurrently developed.

The school language of the tribal is invariably different from that of the home language. Even if he speaks variety of the dominant language it is invariably different from the standard variety which is the language of the books. The language textbooks in the school seldom teach the skills; even the very primary level books attempt to teach literature, very often badly organized and seldom touching contemporary writing. It is no wonder that the child is taught to learn the textbook by heart. The tribal child coming from a poor socio-economic background and from families where there was no education for generations does not have a chance to use an elaborate code in diversified circumstances. The cognitive skills of abstraction, deduction, argumentation, etc., which are essentially language based and which the child is not taught at elementary stages create further deficiencies in the child. The cumulative effect of this deficiency is not only felt at the end of elementary education, but also felt at the end of formal higher education. There is no wonder that the school at Latiachora in Tripura, during the last 25 years of its existence, has produced only 3 SSLCs and not a single graduate.

The present education system has not adopted any conscious strategy to remedy this deficiency. Even conversation and discussions using the spoken school language which would stimulate students to question and thus result in greater classroom interaction has not been built into the teaching programme. Wherever an effort has been made to teach tribal language as well as the dominant language either both are taught in parallel streams or the student is taught entirely through the mother tongue medium in the elementary stage to be confronted with the dominant language at the post primary stage. Unless a conscious strategy for transition from the home language to school language is built into the formal elementary education of the tribal children it is almost impossible to meet their educational needs. This transfer programme has to be effected not only in the spoken material, but also in the reading material. Unless special reading manuals are prepared keeping in view the difficulties of the tribal child he is bound to lag behind.

A question is generally raised about the feasibility of primary education through the 400 tribal mother tongues with all their local variations. In this connection it must be remembered that the actual number of tribal languages in the country is less than 100. Moreover, a call for mother tongue education is not a political slogan when talked about by educationists. It is not so much to maintain the political or legal rights of the linguistic minority as ensuring a good and creative education for the minority child and ensuring the full flowering of his personality. If the language the child brings to the classroom is derided and he is asked to learn a new language for class room interaction as well as for reading books, then he is in a disadvantageous position in comparison with the one whose home language is the same as the school language. It should now be clear that a school need not start teaching in the tribal language for the form shake, if the child is already bilingual and controls the school language. What is important is to adopt a strategy for giving the sense of self assertion to the child and ensuring a smooth transition to the school language wherever necessary.

The teacher is the kingpin in any innovative educational programme. But the teacher who is ill-equipped both from the point of content and methodology, who is called upon to handle four classes simultaneously while looking after administration as well as feeding programme, has very little chance of being innovative. His handicap with the tribal language and his ignorance of the newer discoveries in the fields of teaching and learning further restrict him in his professional performance.

Tribal education is not altogether a different kind of education. It is education to suit the special needs and aspirations of tribal groups who are in different stages of development. Tribal identity is not a matter of shame. It is true that many groups who are completely acculturated wear it as a badge of privilege. But there is no reason to expect or demand that the tribal should either wholly retain or loose all of his culture. If the educated go through a basically western education but retain something which can be recognised as Indian, there is no reason why the tribal, no matter how highly educated he becomes, could not retain something of the tribal heritage. The education system offers little by way of tribal culture in the school curriculum. It has not recognized diversity as a basis of educational planning for the tribal and evolved any strategy which will ensure a smooth transition from the home language to the school language by the end of the primary school. The plea here is for ameliorative planning which will make education relevant to the life of the tribal and help him take advantage of the mainstream education as equal without a sense of deficiency and social oppression.

A PERSPECTIVE ON THE NOMADS

Cultural expressions in a country are as varied as there are culture group and languages to express them. Language use in a multilingual country like India can be best exemplified by the help of a cultural parallel in naming. When a child is born, he is given a pet name by the parents. This is the *sraddhā nāma* 'the affectionate name', which with or without variations is used by all around the child to address him. After sometime a formal christening ceremony is held in which a name is given to the child which is used for most public purposes. A child is born in a social milieu where he develops emotional identity with the language spoken around him. This language with its social dialectal variations is still comparable to his *sraddhā nāma*. This he uses for the expression of his self identity, creativity and extended group solidarity. If he is exposed to variations, he still recognizes in them his own extended self and his capacity to extend his expressiveness. He then begins to realize that of the many forms one is more acceptable to the society. This is the natural standard, socially the most acceptable form. If the child is exposed to two languages rather than to two dialects from the beginning he appears to be treating them as variations of one until both are clearly differntiated. Both share his affectionate attention and he develops ambidexterity in their use.

Schooling is a major break in the natural acquisition of language where ignorant pedants teach the non-existent logic, identify varieties as incorrect, create a low self image be branding the home language as non-stanard and try to establish their right to teach the correct and the standard. It creates the first major emotional disturbance, the first alienation from reality and it sows the first seeds of social discrimination, violation and repression. His real image of man is sought to be moulded into a plastic substance and rebuilt into the plaster men and women of George Segal or white painted wooden sculpture of Frantisek, Storek, beautiful but broken, mutilated and emptied. In the naming parallel this can be compared tc the ritual renaming of the bride at the time of marriage to signify realignment of relations. But when this new name seeks to replace the old in the process of institutionalisation of relations, it respresents the latent nausea and dreams of the past and the wreckage, anger and hopes of the present.

The claim of the school that it teaches as well as helps create a standard needs to be examined carefully. Standard resulting from the interpenetration of different varieties of language in use is a natural process. This not only results in the mutual enrichment of languages in contact, but also results in an enriched variety mutually acceptable to the groups in contact. It is in this sense that India is a linguistic area and the languages belonging to Indo-Aryan and Dravidian families have come so close to one another that if the process continues then scholars trying to reconstruct the past on the basis of modern spoken languages are likely to reach a common ancestry different from both. An induced standard is not only prescriptive, it is like giving a test tube baby to a person made sterile due to prohibition of natural fertility.

If one takes a map of India and marks every ten miles on a straight scale from Kashmir to Kanyakumari, one will find that there is no break in communication between any two consecutive points of the scale. Break of communication may be noticed only in the extreme points. For one who walks there is no problem of communication. Probably this explains how Shankar from the South and Agastya from the North traversed the whole country. People who use low energy transport have all the time to make friends. Those who use high energy and high speed transports face communication break as they skip the intermediate linkages. Short range communication gives rise to and nurtures multilingualism. Induced standardisation promotes monolingualism. This is as much true of a multidialectal situation as of a mulitingual situation, more so if the languages in question are cognate languages.

The claim about mother tongue teaching is equally pernicious. Every native speaker of a language already knows it. One cannot be instructed in a thing one knows. By teaching then is meant, in case of mother tongue teaching, the creation and propagation of a plastic language which is a marker of classes as distinct from people. Underlying the claim are the assumptions that (a) the language spoken by untutored people is degenerate; (b) unless one is schooled his learning of his mother tongue is not complete; (c) those who are not schooled in mother tongue are uneducated; and (d) schooling in mother tongue not only adds to social respectability but also provides one with a tool to communicate with the socially superior. The circle is now complete. Having destroyed the mother tongue and the creative ability and self image attendant on it, the professional educationist has assumed the right to modernize the person by teaching him his own language. This is like emasculating a person intended for circumcision and trying to help him get a baby of his own through aritificial insemination.

The nomads provide an interesting example of both small range and extended communication. The Romanis in Europe and

USSR, for example, share a common core vocabulary. They add additional features of languages of the area which they pass in course of their itinerant life cycle. This keeps their own identity intact while giving them facility of communication with other groups with whom they come in contact. This is also largely true of Romanis in India and probably of other itinerant groups. To standardize their language would not only deprive them of their way of life, but is bound to impoverish and destory their culture. From days immemorial the itinerant tribes have been wandering minstrels, court and public entertainers and even couriers among chieftains and kings. With the greed for land and competition for food, with scramble for possessions and a monetised market economy, they are already sufficiently pushed around so as to give up barter and diversify their traditional occupation. With a minority elite setting the standard of success and defining the mainstream, with professional de-gooders trying to modernize and educate them, the pressure is to convert them into settlers. No wonder that in most cases where such transformation has taken place they remain in the outer fringe of the caste society, disabled in their mother tongue and consequently become early dropouts from the school system.

As Christianity sought to impress on the simple folks that they live in original sin, educationists seek to impress upon them that they live in original stupidity. Both brought the sense of guilt and shame to them, each competing with the other to save soul by its esoteric principles, in the process destroying their original faith, language, customs and cultural traits. By branding them as simple folk, the professionals have established their right to improve their standard of living, to educate them and bring them to the mainstream. By calling them primitive they have taken unto themselves to civilize them by destroying their pride in their own tradition. By calling their language inadequate, undeveloped and non-language they have succeeded in stifling their creativity and lowering their self image.

It is in this perspective that the development of scheduled tribes, in general, and nomads, in pariticular, is to be seen. The educationists in India who are for uniformity and standardization of process and product, the economists who are tutored in the western models of capitalist industrialism or state capitalism, both destroyers of individual and group autonomy, have joined with the planner to produce schemes which plan them out. By encroaching into their territories, their free access to land and food has been curtailed. By establishing outside right over forest porduce their autonomy in devising a viable economy has been curtailed. By enacting laws in favour of outsiders they have been acclaimed offenders in their own land for pursuing their age old practices. By forcing them to join schools, they have declared early dropouts, wasted and stagnated. In short, by imposing the outside view of development, they have been disabled, deprived and exploited. They are asked to live in houses which are not homes. They are asked to eat food which either they grow for others or which is rationed to them thus making them dependent on the outside. They are introduced to dresses which makes them dependent on outsiders. They are introduced to languages which disables them from either being creative or acquiring knowledge. They are exposed to an education system which alienates the educated from the society and creates exploiters within their ranks. Having completely impoverished them, the professionals have moved in to work for their development and bring them to the mainstream. Instead of trying to increse the efficiency of their societies based on use value system and accepting the notion of autonomy underlying their socio-cultural organization, the planners and professionals have forced commodity centered values on them. With the dice havily loaded against them, they stand condemned, damned, deprived and exploited. Unless this fraud of exploitation in the name of development is unmasked, further incursions into their autonomy is halted, and the process of disabling them in their own languages is stayed, in no time their cultures will be subjects of study by professionals in the universities and they will inflate the statistics of persons below the poverty line. Radical alternatives to the so called mainstream by way of strengthening their social and economic autonomy can only save them from total ruination.

BILINGUAL ELEMENTARY EDUCATION: A PLEA

Why Bilingual Elementary Education?

The child who enters school for formal education comes with competence in a variety of language. That variety has the same complexity and potential for expression and communication as any other variety of language. If that variety marks a social group, is not acceptable to the school and is not adequate to meet all the current needs, then the child is to be taught one or more other variety. But the new learning is to be based on already acquired competences, not on their rejection.

Educationists, Linguists and Psychologists are of the view that mother tongue is best suited as medium of early education as it aids concept formation and promotes creativity. In a multilingual country like India, where the notion of mother tongue is mixed up with region, religion, ethnicity, etc., and where children are equally at home with two or more languages/dialects, it is more appropriate to use the term 'the early language experience of the child' in the context of elemantary education than merely use the term 'mother tongue'. In this context, however, it is the bilinguality or trilinguality at the home surrounding that is to be taken into consideration and not the adult bilinguality of the larger community.

In India, the scheduled languages are spoken by 10 to 80 millions of people. Each of the scheduled languages has about 10 to 97 recognizable dialects. The number of mother tongues in States varies between 58 (Orissa) and 454 (Maharashtra), and in Union Territories between 14 (Laccadive, Minicoy and Aminidivi islands) and 210 (Himachal Pradesh). Out of the 1,652 mother tongues approximately 400 are tribal mother tongues, most of which are unwritten. Among these 21 languages are spoken by 1,00,000 and above, 4 languages spoken by 50,000 to 99,999 ; 5 languages by 40,000 to 49,999 ; 5 languages by 30,000 to 39,999, 6 languages by 20,000 to 29,999 ; 12 languages by 10,000 to 19,999, and 15 languages by 5,000 to 9,999 of the population (source : 1961 Census). Higher education is available in the medium of English and through the scheduled languages. Therefore, in designing elementary education all these factors have to be taken into account ; and the language or dialect of early childhood experience of the learners would have to be determined for the purpose of elementary education.

Interaction central to learning-centred education

Indian education is essentially teaching Centred. The teaher consider the child's mind to be an empty container to be filled with his wisdom and with the wisdom contained in the textbook. This explains the lecture technique of teaching at all stages and the textbook being the master of class room. This also explains the teacher's insensitivity to the child's early experience with language. This lack of inretaction inhibits learning, results in large scale failure and low achievement.

Numerical superiority and Imposed minority status

The number of speakers of a language seems to have nothing to do with the phenomenon of their being branded as linguistic minority. Even if 40 million people speak Tamil in Tamilnadu, the Tamil children in other parts of the country confront the above situation. Even within Tamilnadu a Brahmin, a Padayacci or a child from North Arcot meets with the same fate, not to speak of other language settlers. This is one kind of situation. A different kind of situation prevails in Tribal language areas, where even if 90 or even 100 per cent of children belong to a tribal community, the education policy imposes minority status on them. These children are confronted with an educational scene, wherein the content, method and medium, all are alien and consequently there is little interaction between the teacher and the taught.

Language as cause vs. Language as excuse for discrimination against the socially deprived

Language is both the cause and symptom of an inefficient education system. In this sense language is only an indirect cause of lower opportunity, low social status and therefore, discrimination. But it must be understood that a poor, a scheduled caste, a person from a specific area or social group is hated and discriminated against for a host of socio-economic reasons. In such cases language difference is used as an excuse. Even if the language barrier was removed, the persons would still be discriminated against. Where language difference is used as an excuse for discrimination, societal planning must get priority. But when language difference is the cause of educational discrimination, educational planning must get priority. Both, however, require an understanding of the societal problems involved.

Bilingualism models and muddles

Scholars have talked about Assimilation and Pluralistic models of bilingual schooling. The underlying assumption that bilingual schooling in itself fosters either maintenance or loss of language is erroneous. There are a large number of socio-economic reasons which are responsible for both. In India teaching of standard Hindi has not resulted in the loss of Bhojpuri, Maithili, Megahi, Braj and Rajasthani. Acceptance of Kannada by Tulu speakers and Marathi/Kannada by Konkani speakers as culture languages has not led to the assimilation of this languages. Even Tanjore Marathi, Mysore Tamil, Kacchi, Sindhi and Urdu have not yet been assimilated in spite of teaching which either did not recognize them or gave only nodding recognition at one time or other.

Scholars have spoken of Dual and Transfer models. In most such cases there is a great deal of confusion. Take for instance the Indian scene. Language medium schools, where invariably English is taught as a second/foreign language are claimed by some as bilingual schools, but these do not certainly present examples of bilingual schooling. Teaching two languages as subjects certainly does not make a school bilingual. The Central school system, where the 200 schools in which Social Sciences and Humanities are taught in Hindi and Physical Sciences are taught in English present the picture of one kind of bilingual schooling. This may be called the dual bilingual schooling in some sense. But it must be remembered that even in this system, for most students the mother tongue is neither Hindi nor English. The kind of bilingual school suggested by the Central Institute of Indian Languages, and proposed to be experimented among the Kuvi, Tripuri, Muria, Kolami, Warli and the Abujh Maria alone merits to be considered seriously under this rubric. This is in some sense may be called the transfer model. But the societal goal underlying the proposal does neither support shift, and assimilation nor maintenance. On the positive side it aims at devising an educational strategy which shall bring the children from the linguistic tributaries to the mainstream of education at least cost to the system. This leaves the choice of studying the language as a subject at a later stage open, and therefore, is not transfer in the sense of assimilation. The suggested scheme is to start teaching reading and writing of the mother tongue (using the script of the mainstream language is the mother tongue is unrecorded or inadequately recorded) while introducing the child to the spoken mainstream language. In the second phase reading and writing of the mainstream language is to be taught along with the mother tongue. In the third phase the emphasis on the mainstream language needs to be more and there will be the reverse of the relation between the mother tongue and the mainstream language in the first phase. Thus at the end of the elementary education the child would be ready to take full advantage of the mainstream education with the least handicap. Whether the division is 4+3+3 or 5+2+3 the scheme can be adjusted according to local needs.

Here, one should bear in mind the difference between the Indian and the Western situation. In the West, the problem of education is that of the immigrant minority in the context of a dominant monolingual majority with an accepted standard. In the multilingual Indian scene where a child is called upon to learn at least three languages to cater to enlarging concentric circles of communication, the problem is one of planned bilingualism at successive stages to ensure balanced multilingualism. Viewed in this perspective, the bilingual elementary education proposed by the Central Institute of Indian Languages is neutral between maintenance and loss of the mother tongue. It may result in either, but will promote neither. It is the only viable educational strategy that can meet the demands of competing languages and dialects, avoid stagnation and wastage at the elementary stage and lay the foundation for a good continuing education.

EDUCATION FOR THE MINORITY CHILDREN

The minority is almost everywhere taken for granted. They are expected, if not required, to prove their loyalty to the Nation, State and other socio-political edifices built by the majority by constantly renewing their pledge to the majority socio-cultural symbols. Even then the majority treats them as less than equal, if not less than human. In the context of rapid socio-economic changes taking place in the multi-ethnic multi-cultural developing countries in the world, adherence to language as a means of cultural rootedness and group identity has become a growing phenomenon.

The minority is constantly under the threat of assimilation. When under the compulsions of economy the family structure is loosened, the social organization faces disintegration, the handicrafts and other finer cultural traits of distinctiveness face extinction, language remains a major identity marker if not the only one and acts as the only window to the cultural past of a people. The demand for the recognition of minority languages and their use in education, administration and mass communication draws strength from this situation.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the UN General Assembly on December 10, 1948 embodies the concepts of 'non-discrimination' and 'the right to education'. Pierre Ju Vigny, in his book 'Towards Equality in Education' (UNESCO 1962) reports the recommendations of the convention against discrimination, where discrimination is defined to include "any distinction, exclusion, limitation or preference which based on race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, economic condition or birth, has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing equality of treatment in education and in particular

(a) of depriving any person or group of persons of access to education of any type or at any level ;

(b) of limiting any person or group of persons to education of an inferior standard ;

(c) subject to the provision of Article 2 of this Convention, of establishing or maintaining separate educational system or institution for persons or groups of persons ; or

(d) of inflicting on any person or groups of persons conditions which are incompatible with the dignity of man".

Since language use in education limits access to education for some, results in inferior education for others and thus creates discrimination and prejudice, not to speak of inequal opportunities in life, it is important to examine the question of education for the minorities children with care, if we have to build an egalitarian society in this country.

Education has two aspects -- stability and change. As the stabilising agent education ensures the transmission of traditional culture. As a change agent education can play a role only if the structure and content of education is flexible, encourage innovation, experimentation and exploration.

India is a multilingual, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural country. Even if we ignore the 1652 mother tongues listed by the 1961 Census, one has to admit the existence of a little over 400 languages with innumerable dialects, sociolects, registers and styles. These are divided in four language families. There are ten major script systems and a host of minor ones. All these have helped to maintain small group identity over a long period of time.

India has a hierarchical society. Knowledge and education has always been accepted as the preserve and prerogative of a small class of people in India. Even after the contact with the west the formal education system we established in this country follows the age old pattern. A microscopic minority, who were supposed to be the interpreters between the ruling and the ruled, became the beneficiaries of formal education and enjoyed the rank, status and wealth consequent to it. Thus the ancient Brahminical values were replaced by the modern educated middle class values and the formal school system acted as the transmitting agent for these values.

The formal education has left the large majority of people illiterate. 70 per cent of population being illiterate, one of the most effective means of transmission of knowledge and culture is naturally the oral transmission through local languages. In fact the period between the 11th and the 16th centuries which mark the development of various regional Indian languages show the scar of conflict between Sanskrit, the language of the great tradition and high culture and the popular languages. When a Marathi saint poet said, "*Sanskrut deva bhāṣā jhāli tari prākrut kāy corā pāsun, āli*", 'If Sanskrit is the language of gods, is Prakrit the language of thieves ?', he was only pleading for a more rational medium of transmission of knowledge and culture to the large majority of people for whom Sanskrit was out of bounds.

Over the last thousands of years Sanskrit and the Sanskrit based languages of India irrespective of their family affiliation had created a cultural base which is recognisable as Indian culture. In spite of language differences and prejudices it was possible for a Shankaracharya to establish centres of learning in all parts of the country. But with the advent of English the cultural base shrinked. English which is accessible to hardly four per cent of the population engendered an attitude of indifference to the local languages and culture and thus created a communication gap between the elite and the masses and between innumerable islands of cultural and linguistic minorities. English education thus represented the culture of the new middle class which became the norm for the teacher to uphold in the class room.

The middle class elite who considers himself the repository of all values and expects others to emulate his values has failed to recognise difference as having different perspective and ethos. They consider the rest like themselves, only less proficient in the dominant language, a little less inferior in the style of speech, a little more culturally impoverished and probably a little less intelligent, capable and educated. In other words for them what is different is a little deficient. An education system built on this deficit model is bound to be a source of large numer of problems. By rejecting the language and culture of the 'different' student as inferior it builds a low self image in the minority child. Its unwillingness and incapacity to change and renew itself in the name of stability of the system accentuates inequality. It is in this context that educational innovation and education for the minority children has to be viewed.

While talking about the education of the minority children it is necessary to understand the composition and characteristic of the minority. With each of the major languages spoken by between ten and eighty millions in a total population of 600 millions, in one sense the whole country could be termed as a country of minorities. That all the states share the feature of linguistic multiplicity will probably support such a statement. But from the point of education planning such sweeping generalizations are seldom helpful. It is, therefore, necessary to take a closer look at the macro and micro levels with reapect to language use in education.

The languages reconized in the VIII schedule of the Indian Constitution provide the majority streams in education. Barring Sanskrit, Urdu and Sindhi for which special provisions are made the other languages are dominant in one or more states. Although linguistic states are formed on the basis of those dominant languages no state contains all the dominant language speakers within the state boundary. For instance, one seventh of Kannada speakers are outside the state of Karnataka. Similar statements can be made for other states. This results in a situation where majority language speakers in one state become the minority in another. Tamils and Gujaratis in Maharashtra or Telugus and Maharashtrians in Karnataka can be taken as illustrative examples.

Each major language area is divided into a number of dialect zones. These dialects may differ only in minor features or they may be mutually unintelligible. The southern dialect of Oriya, Desia, for example, is mutually unintelligible with the Sambulpuri, the western dialect. If these dialects develop independent personality through building up their own literary tradition as in the case of Hindi dialects, the situation becomes more complex from the point of education. Thus, Maithili, Rajasthani, Bhojpuri claiming special language status is a case in point.

A third kind of minority is the culture language minority. There are some languages which are restricted mostly to home use and one of the dominant languages takes the role of the media of all cultural communication. Konkani and Tulu may be taken as illustrating this situation. Both Konkani and Tulu people have a glorious past history; Konkani is even recognized as a literary language by the National Academy of Letters. But in spite of efforts of the zealots the fact remains that Kannada remains the culture language for Tulu speakers and Marathi, Kannada and Malayalam for Konkani speakers who are spread in the three states of Maharashtra, Karnataka and Kerala. The same could be said about the dominant languages which assume the role of culture language vis-a-vis the tribal and minor non-tribal languages.

Language is sometimes identified with ethnicity. In India there is the example of one ethnic group Gadaba speaking languages belonging to two language families. One group speaks Gutob, wihch is a Munda language; the other group speaks Ollari, which is a Dravidian language. There are also counter examples of one language being spoken by different ethnic groups: Oriya spoken by Khond, Santhal and such other groups could be taken as examples. However, when both ethnicity and language are used for group identity, then this creates separatist demands for education. Demand for education through Bhili, Gondi, Mundari can be taken as illustrations. There are ethnic groups who had all but lost their languages. Because of reassertion of ethnicity they look for a symbol in either a revived language or a new writing system. The discovery of the South-Munda groups in the Koraput District of Orissa generated renewed interest in their languages. The myth surrounding the newly discovered So:ra writing system is also another example of an ethnic minority trying to assert itself. The Aglo-Indian community which claims English as its mother tongue, may be taken as yet another case in point. Although the Anglo-Indians in India come from different European language background, they have taken a single identity and a single language as symbol of group solidarity. Education of this minority both in their assumed mother tongue as well as in the regional languages pose problems which have been neglected so far, but required serious attention. Last but not the least in importance is the minority constituting the lower socio-economic class and lower caste. This is the group which is below the poverty line and suffers severe destitution on account of poverty. By and large children from these families have no education in their family background for generations. Usually they are speakers of varieties of languages which are stigmatized. Being users of restricted codes, their vision of and capacity to respond to the challenges of the modern world are limited. Being in the lowest rung in a hierarchical society, they have a low self image and consequently their achievement orientation is blunted. With neither family nor peer group support for a smooth transition from the home language to the school language and for sustaining the interest in education, it is only natural that wastage and stagnation is the general rule in the schools with predominance of these children.

Education in the mother tongue medium assumes greater importance in the context of early education of a child in general and the minority child in particular. There is a great deal of misconception about mother tongue education. Many people think that the child has a larger vocabulary in the mother tongue and therefore it is easier to teach in the mother tongue. Like all half truths this notion is fraught with many inaccuracies and distortions. First of all, although vocabulary is an important element of a language it is not all. By knowing a large number of words one cannot speak, read and write a language. Secondly, even most statements about vocabulary are usually made on the basis of observation of performance of the speakers of a language. The expressed vocabulary is a small part of one's total stock of vocabulary and the passive vocabulary is as important as active vocabulary.

Language is a tool of communication. But communication is neither naming class room objects and objects in the immediate environment of the child nor is it the vehicle of one way transmission of information from the teacher to the student. Language is a statement of relationships among thoughts and expressions of a human being. These relationships are not erratic, but rule governed. Communication entails much more than mere passing of information. It involves conceptualization of objects and experiences, their identification and classfication, argumentation and disputation about the nature, process and relationship among objects, thoughts and expressions, and comprehension of the realities and the rules governing them. In short, the process of acquisition of a language both synchronizes with and expresses the growing up of a human child.

Human child is the most helpless and most dependant at its infancy and requires the longest period of nursing among all the living beings. It is only natural that the language he or she picks up from and with the mother shapes and influences the mind of the child. This explains the name of mother tongue and the emotional identification of the child with that tongue. However, with the breaking of space and time barrier by the human beings, a lot more inter and intra group communication takes place today than any time in the past. Languages in contact within the family, among the peer group and in the immediate environment of the child has led to widespread bi- and multi-lingualism. A child often grows up with two or more proficient in a language other than the actual language of the mother. In terms of emotional affiliation he may either develop an ambivalence towards such languages or choose any one for both emotional and intellectual preference.

In education, therefore, the language of early childhood experience of the child is the most important factor. With the imprecision attendant on the concept mother tongue, there is no need to make a fettish of the term and argue against mother tongue instruction on the groud of their multiplicity. Once the underlying principle is understood, the language of the early childhood experience can be used for effective education. For example, if a minority child is already proficient in a variety of the school language, then that can be used as the medium of instruction. What is much more important is the awareness among the education planners and the teachers that a conscious academic strategy is needed to transfer the minority child from the home language to the school language.

In a country where multiplicity of language is mapped by language distance, problems arising out of these distances have to be taken into consideration while teaching various languages. For instance, in India there are languages belonging to four language families. To teach a language belonging to a different language family poses a set of problems different from those of teaching a language belonging to the same family of the learner's language. Even teaching the standard literary and spoken varieties to the speakers of dialects has its own problem. It is in this context that congnate language teaching has to be kept in view. Genetically related languages known as cognate languages share many features through common inheritance. This provides a common base of learning another language which can be exploited to the maximum advantage of the teaching-learning process.

The sense underlying the concept 'cognate' can be expanded following Leach to mean shared features irrespective of genetic relationship among languages. In that case the shared features among languages irrespective of their distance could be used for teaching. For example, Kurukh, a Dravidian language, shares more features with spoken colloquial Hindi used as culture language in that area than with modern spoken Tamil. Research has shown that Marathi speakers belonging to the Indo-Aryan family and Kannada speakers belonging to the Dravidian family in the border districts of Maharashtra and Karnataka operate in two languages with a single grammar. Hundreds of years of cultural contact has resulted in so many shared features between the two language families that it led Russian scholar Andronov to conclude that if the process continues much longer, then comparative reconstruction of modern languages belonging to these two families will lead to a third source language. In teaching minority children speaking diverse languages and dialects this rich heritage of universals could be used to great advantage.

The difference between the home language and the school language is one of the distinguishing features of minority children. If the language the child brings to classroom is derided as stigmatised and no academic strategy is adopted to give the children due competence in the school language so that they may study as equals of the majority language children, then they are bound to develop inferiority complex, which in turn will affect their personality structure. It is in this context that schooling of a transfer model is suggested to meet the situation. bilingual

Like all language related issues, there is a great deal of confusion about bilingual schooling. If two languages are taught as subjects, then some consider it as bilingual schooling. If two languages are used as mediums people consider it as bilingual schooling. If in teaching one language, the help of another language is taken, some consider that also as bilingual schooling. There are many variations in these patterns. In the central schools in India the sciences are taught through the English medium and humanities and social sciences are taught through the Hindi medium. In most states the primary, particularly for the minority children, is through the mother tongue and the student is confronted with a second language at the post primary stage. Some swear in the name of Dodson's Bilingual programme; others talk of teaching Hindi through Tamil, Bengali, etc. Thus as bilingualism becomes part of the academic fashion, more and more confused talk about it is continued.

The bilingual schooling of the transfer model is an academic strategy designed for the minority children whose home language is different from that of the school language or whose language for learning is different from their language in use. It aims at a smooth transfer to the school language by the end of the primary stage. Its basic assumptions and steps are very simple. Firstly, it assumes that the linguistic wealth the child brings to the classroom must be fully exploited in the interest of good education. Secondly it envisages an orderly step by step transfer to the school language. For example, it is good to teach reading and writing of the language of early childhood experience using the script of the school language while introducing the child to the spoken school language. The second step is to transfer the skills of reading and writing to that of the school language. The final step in this is to reverse the time allocation in such a manner that the child will spend almost the same time or even a little more for the school language. It will be seen that here the aim is to adopt a sound academic strategy to help the minority child to seek fulfilment in his own identity as well as in discovering that his small identity forms part of a larger identity. The aim is not to fight a battle of rights, to protect or destroy a speech community, but to assist the weak, the handicapped, the oppressed to participate in the education system with self respect. Thus, the proposed scheme is neutral as to language maintenance and loss and is a remedy against indifference, failure, stagnation and wastage in the area of education of the minority child.

In India lot of misinformed discussion takes place because of not making a distinction between language as medium and language as a subject. Even the teachers are not aware of the difference among teaching a language, teaching about a language and teaching through a language. As a result when educationists speak of language as a burden, they do not quite know its full implication. Excepting a handful of linguists who study language as an end in itself most people learn languages for purpose. They either wish to increase their employment potentiality, do commerce, enjoy literature or have access either to wider knowledge or to diverse culture through the study of language. One's degree of competence and skill need not be the same for all languages. What language is to be studied as subject and which one(s) as medium will depend on the needs of learners.

Today, only literature is taught in classes devoted to languages as subject. Here literature is narrowly defined and does seldom include study of dialects, socialects, styles and registers. In the absence of the study of conceptual prose at the lower stages in language subject classes, the learner finds himself handicapped when confronted with language as a medium at the higher stage. Research all over the world has demonstrated that language deficiency has cumulative effect. The weakness In manipulating languages built into the system from the initial stages create havoc at later stages of education, whether it is the English medium or the mother tongue medium.

The negative stereotype attitude of teachers to the cultural and linguistic patterns of lower class and caste is well known. What is not appreciated is the fact that their language is often used as excuse for their condemnation. It is true that if the language differences were ironed out, the attitude towards them is not ipso facto changed. But there is no doubt that if the language barrier is broken, then one more excuse for discrimination would have been demolished and those branded as lower class and lower caste would have taken one step further towards participatory democracy.

The minorities, by and large, are socially oppressed and economically impoverished. Although put together they form the majority, they have seldom any voice in planning for their own education. Planning for education of the socially oppressed is bound to hurt the privileged elite as resources which are used to maintain the system have to be diverted towards this end. But unless the elite read the writings on the wall and co-operate with this silent majority in improving their lot, then the social tensions might explode and affect the very foundations of their privileged existence.

Some educationists in the name of championing the cause of the minorities and the educationally handicapped have given a call for compensatory education. The slogan though attractive is fraught with dangerous consequences. It assumes that there is some flaw in the learning child which needs to be compensated. In actuality the flaw lies in the school, the system and the society. Instead of changing the school system to suit the needs of the child, to try to change the child to suit the system is bound to result in great psychological, social and educational problems.

This raises an important question as to the goal of planning for the minorities. Many well-meaning people have pleaded for cultural assimilation of the minority groups. Such persons are blind to the pluricultural base of the country. The mosaic of cultures in India in spite of stresses and strains has remained a source of strength. This has been possible because of structural incorporation of minority groups in the great Indian tradition. If this distinction is lost sight of and cultural assimilation at different levels is attempted, it is bound to impoverish not only small groups, but the national culture as a whole.

VALUE BASED EDUCATION

The word for 'Education' in many Indian languages is *vidya*. The root *vid*, from which *vidya* is derived, represents a homology meaning, 'to know' and 'to exist' from which words like *vidwan* are derived *nānya panthā vidyate ayanāya*.

Thus, the word *vidya* translated into English means 'To learn is to exist', 'Existence is knowledge or learning to be'. Every living organism is prewired for the capacity to learn, to remember and experience. Therefore, neither can there be life without education nor can there be education divorced from life.

Vidya becomes *a-vidya* when education initiates a process where wisdom is lost in knowledge and knowledge in information, where materialism divorced from spiritualism seeks pleasure and comfort which distort perception of reality. and where complete lack or distorted vision of inter-connectedness leads to alienation, isolation and anomie. When this happens, one's responsibility to oneself, to one's neighbours, country and the world becomes the premium.

Melvin J. Lasky, in his book *Utopla and Revolution* points out how utopia ends in revolution, revolution turns into dogma, dogma provokes heresay which in turn triggers revolution. This cycle enslaves the minds of intellectuals in such a way that they become victims of a new cycle. In the words of Nietzsche "......life no longer resides in the whole. The word becomes sovereign and leaps out of the sentence, the sentence reaches out and obscures the meaning of the page, and the page comes to life at the expense of whole, the whole is no longer a whole".

In ancient India, life was measured in terms of fullness. Since fullness is such a concept that the product of all the four mathematical operations is fullness there was no space for emptyness, isolation and alienation when *Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam* and *Yādum ūre yāvarum Kēḷir* "the world is my village and every person my kinsman", how can one become lonely ? When God is so pervasive that one can accept and surrender, reject and deny, or doubt and question, how can one escape God ? Thus, God being a presence even in refusal and rejection, a person cannot, but be aware of interconnectedness, environmental, social and cosmic, value education must, therefore, begin with awareness of one's connection with the immediate eco-culture, with fellow beings in society and with cosmic laws and forces which bind the particular with the universal. The creative interdependence among the three has become all the more essential in face of modern science and technology, which is based on the triple principles of self destructive competition, materialistic acquisition and emphasis on commodity values.

Rabindranath Tagore made a distinction between *Mukhos* 'mask' and *Mukhashree* 'natural glow of the face'. That distinction is all the more important to remember today, when education tends to teach the use of mask rather than helping the natural inner glow to be reflected. School is not an extension of home, it has become either a substitution or rejection of home. The school does not treat the child as a resource. The child is treated as an object to be fashioned in the image of the elders by knowing textbook lessons doing social work pre-determined by curriculum makers. There is no effort at relating knowing and doing with being and becoming. That explains why modernity is not rooted in tradition and seeking of status and affluence through grossly improper measures of excellence gets precedence over professional excellence and idealism to fight against untruth, injustice and inequality or to seek the causes of all of these.

The denial of the child and the resfusal to treat the child as an independent layer of social science concern finds expression in the rejection of the child's home language in formal schooling. The teacher's lack of cognition of the processes of language acquistion and processes of reading and writing on the one hand and the teacher's belief that there is a single standard and correct form of language is responsible for this rejection. The dialects and the minority languages are also rejected on this count. Whether it is the child or the non-standard 'dialect' speaker, (s)he is not perceived as a human being, but a human becoming. With the waves of educational theories since World War II, the focus of concern has moved like a pendulum from the subject matter to the child and vice versa, but the medium has been taken for granted. That is why curricular reform has meant change in textbooks and methods of approaching them, but has seldom concerned itself with modes of language use, communicability of languages used in textbooks and linkage between home language and school language on the one hand and first, second and further language on the other.

Intellect, emotion and will are the basic faculties of human psyche and all three are integrally related to language development. By rejecting, suppressing, supplanting, or denigrating the mother tongue, not only creativity and innovativeness is curbed, but the resultant intellectual mediocrity and emotional sterility distorts the perception of life as an integrated whole. Take for example English medium education for Indian language speaking children. Lack of words in English for the familiar flowers, fruits, plants, trees, birds, beasts, rains, winds results in an imbalanced relation between the child and the environment. Neutralisation of the three dimensional kin terms by terms like uncle, aunt and cousin result in distortion in the perception of societal relations. Lack of transmission of the myths and other cultural symbols leads to the creation of cultural perception blind spots which affect appreciation of literature, plastic and performing arts and architecture which use such myths and symbols. All these lead to disintegration of society and culture. All this erodes the values the culture holds high.

Value is not a mask to be worn, but is a glow permeating culture. It is manifested in the personal, societal, psychological, cultural, educational, economic and political behaviour. As the seminar on the New Education Policy and Moral Education convened by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, rightly observes, "A society wallowing in luxury, conspicuous consumption, obscenity, dissipation, corruption, disparities, exploitation, rivalries, hatred and violence can never achieve any real progress howsoever vast and well planned the efforts of Government may be for its economic development." It is unfortunate that neither social scientists nor agencies engaged in the study of development have undertaken trend measurement in respect of values among the youth both in school and out of school.

Let me share with you my perception of changes in values which have taken place during my life time. When I was young, money was not the defining criteria of success and respectability. Family tradition was a major factor. A complex set of factors explained respectability of family and cut across castes and class. Joint family was still the norm and naturally family ties were cohesive and dense which absorbed a lot of socio-economic shock and tension. Marriage was arranged by the family, where informally the son or daughter's consent was obtained, family traditions were checked and the whole society participated in celebrations. There was a work ethic. A person who did not work was criticised. Today a person who works is criticised. We were then told that, early to bed and early to rise, keeps a man healthy, wealthy and wise. The present day youth addicted to late night TV shows or nocturnal violence wakes up late from an alcoholic slumber. For him/her to be lazy, corrupt and inefficient is to be healthy, wealthy and wise. In my young days, a person who did not take loan was respected. Now a person who does not take loan is considered foolish and one who gets away with the loan is considered clever. There has been a movement towards "deauthoritisation" as a result of which there is lessening of obedience to authority of law, the police, the government, the principal in an educational institution and the boss in a work situation. In my young days a sense of patriotism led us to movement of disobedience to an alien authority. The present trend appears to have no respect of the traditional concept of patriotism. The un-critical acceptance of Marxian dogma that labour has no country and the capitalist dogma that capital has no.country has made the Indian intellectuals rootless and abettors of ruthless exploitation. Uncritical acceptance of liberalised sex modes without reference to the individual and social values has created a class of people who are neither Indian nor Western. The present day Indian youth is taught in a dilemma. Their values are not a synthesis between what is good in traditional and in modern values, but an antithesis of traditional values. It is primarily due to ignorance of tradition and its distorted representation as seen through Western eyes. Ideologically, they are opposed to a purely economic society bound in daily routines and which has no care for others, but practically they seek security in money which leads them to support an undering society. Neither organized religion nor organized schooling has been able to present a synthesis of life which would help deal with opposites and steer a course which would make a person to be Indian as well as universal without losing many identities which link the local with the universal.

In the past Hinduism was a cover term for all those who practised their own religion, without disrespect for other religions. Thus Hinduism encompasses monism, dualism, triad, transcendantalism, immanence, worship of 23 millions of gods including nature, idea and object gods as well as those challenging the existence of god. This was not a religion in the narrow sense of the term; but Dharma which binds together apparently disparate elements. In a single thread by which one perceived oneself as a part of cosmic whole. Unless the core value of respect for different is emphasized in all disciplines and in all modes of behaviour, the thurst of Western values incompatible with the India, will continue to erode the value base of the Indian society and threaten its very existence. At the time of doubt and despair, Buddha's message to his disciple, was *Attadipo bhava.* This has been variously translated as "make yourself a light' and 'look inwards for light', At a time when we are uncertain and afraid of our own identities and confused about the road to take, there is greater need to emphasize an integrated life and value based education. Therefore, all of us, young and old, who are victims of identity crisis, disbelief, dismay, and resultant paralysis of thought and action join together in involving the cosmic principle.

Asato mā sadgamaya

Tamaso mā jyotirgamaya

Mrityor mā Amritangamaya

TEACHER EDUCATION

During the Gandhi centenary year I made a small experiment. I asked a group of intellectuals; 'where Gandhi was born ?' Many did not know. Those who knew said that he was born in Porbunder. When asked 'where in Porbunder,' they were completely blank. All of them, however, knew that the residence of the British Prime Minister is 10 Downing Street. Gandhi has been so ritualised, even in textbooks, that young children grow averse to Gandhi by the time they come to the end of the school. These episodes bring out forcefully that something is wrong with our education system. It is not that the top intellectuals present in the Delhi meeting that day had forgotten Gandhi's address; thanks to the education system, more and more Indians forget their Indian address everyday.

There is one thing common among countries with a colonial past. They have inherited certain systems from the colonial days. Managers of such systems, having stepped into the shoes of the erstwhile masters, enjoy all the privileges of the systems. But as a public stance they blame the system for all the ills. They are ones responsible for status quo. They are instrumental in perpetuating the system. Yet they pose as the leaders of academic revolutions. In the early sixties America designed a machine to pluck tomatos. This machine plucked tomatoes of a certain size and left out the smaller ones. Research was then conducted to change the breed of tomatoes so that they would be of uniform size. Today in our country planning in general and educational planning in particular is carried on in the above manner. Instead of fitting education to the needs of the people, people are asked to fit themselves to the need of the education system.

India is a multilingual, multiethnic and multicultural country. From Himalayas to the Kanyakumari, from Arunachal to Gujarat there is tremendous variation in ecological conditions and consequently in life styles, dress and food habits, crop cycles and even in health and disease pattern. Yet a uniform schooling with uniform curriculum, uniform textbooks, uniform school timings and uniform method of teaching is sought to be imposed in the whole country. A child from Biligirirangan Hills and one from Bangalore are expected to complete the same course within the same time. If at all any differences are thought of, then the curriculum is diluted for the disadvantaged thus making him permanently disabled. No serious thought has been given to the question of comparability of diverse patterns and end products of distinctly different systems. Creativity and innovativeness are used as slogans. So is competence based teacher education, since there is no teacher education which is not competence based.

A uniform pattern of schooling aids the elite. They give private tuition and provide books and other teaching aids to their children outside school. The socially and economicaly disadvantaged parent cannot even provide textbooks, which are progressivelly growing in volume and cost. Nobody bothers as to how creativity and innovativeness could at all develop in school where the stress is on uniformity. And yet for more and more children school is becoming the only place to get education that brings success in life. For poor education in the university, the college is blamed; for poor education in the college, the secondary school is blamed; for poor secondary education, the primary education is blamed; for poor primary education, the parents are blamed for providing such poor material. The parents have nowhere to go. The successful among the parents send their children to schools which ensure future success. All experiments are conducted at the cost of the under privileged. The disadvantaged parent has little choice but to accept the oppressive system and pay for it.

To be a teacher under such condition is not an easy thing. First of all education standards are not set by teachers, not even by educationists in our country. Admission to a 'foreign' school or a school subsidiary to or modelled after it determines the standard of all schools, lower or higher. Secondly the teacher is poorly paid. With the rise in prices and craze for consummerism he can maintain 'standard' only by extorting money from the students through 'fair' or 'foul' means. Thirdly, the teacher has little social prestige. Today a constable is respected more than a head master. 25 years ago Pandit Nehru had said that "he felt ashamed that the salary of chaprasis in Delhi was more than that of the average school teacher in India. He said : 'I am sorry to say the condition of teachers who mould the character of children is not good and their place in our society is not high." (Indian Express, Jan. 5, 1957).

The fate of primary and secondary teachers is not much different today. The teacher is abused by the student, the parent, the school authority and the politicians. Last, but not the least, the teacher is vastly under-prepared for the role he is called upon to play. Consequently he becomes a trade unionist, or politician and anything but a teacher.

If nobody in the society is willing and able to bring about a social revolution, there is no reason why the teacher alone should be expected to do it nor why the teacher should bear the mantle of being the sole ignition of a 'man making process'. According to the admission of *Teacher Education Curriculum : A Framework*, " teacher training institutions stand isolated from the mainstream of national life, from the academic life of the university, from schools, from one another, and what is most serious, from the very community which they are supposed to serve." (Introduction, p2). If education is considered to be the instrument of social change and the teacher is the activator of this instrument, then a static system of teacher education cannot produce a dynamic teacher who can motivate social change.

Education is a composite responsibility in more than one sense. One stage of education cannot be isolated from another, and from cradle to grave all stages of education are interdependent. Education in different regions of a country are interlinked. Thus even if education were a State subject in India, one cannot study them in isolation from one another. Thirdly all disciplines studied both horizontally and vertically must be .seen as an integrated whole. Fourthly, integration among theory, pedagogy, skills, methodology, attitude and behaviour is an essential feature of education. What is most important is the reflection of the composite culture of India in the education system of the country. Teacher education in India, unfortunately, is not task oriented. Even a casual analysis would show the gap among teacher competence, curricular demand, textbook, and method of teaching. It shows the isolation of teacher education from the community and from one another in different regions and levels. The blame for this will have to be shared by the entire education system.

At the primary level of education, in spite of a constitutional directive, only 58 out of over 1600 mother tongues are media of education. Instead of devising strategies to link the mother tongue with the standard or the culture language, an effort is made to deride the mother tongue which has serious educational implications. If a Soliga or a Kuruba child began his education through the mother tongue but through a well adjusted bilingual primary education programme became so competent in Kannada that at the post primary stage he could study as equal with Kannada children, it could not only have led to better understanding among the majority and minority children, it would, by averting identity crisis, have yielded better educational results. Under the present dispensation mother tongue, instead of becoming a resource, has become a problem. As a result even in the Hindi zone Maithili had to be accorded the special status as medium of education till the secondary stage. The assertion of identity by many small languages and demands of dialect speakers for being accorded special recognition is a direct result of the attitude of domination.

The school building, the white collar attitude, and the unfamiliar language are sufficient to alienate a child from the environment. What is worse, education is not carried to the child working in the fields and factories. The child is put in schools and taught work experience which is irrelevant to his milieu. We have adopted the three-language formula. But there is little research about the age and stage at which the second language is to be introduced. In teaching the first language the emphasis is on teaching literature. Because of the lack of exposure to conceptual prose, the language of science and that of social sciences, at the school stage, the child finds himself incapable of studying subjects even through the mother tongue. Teaching of English and teaching through English have been subjects of national debate ever since the British laid the foundation of the modern education system. Most teachers believe that English has a civilising effect and without it Indian education will fall into the middle ages. As a result of such faith English has been so ritualised that nobody pays any attention to the methods, material and teacher preparation in this field. It is taken for granted that long years in English education can make one proficient in English. When graduates say things like 'God shave the Queen', 'we are in the well', 'we have come to pay our last respects to you', or 'Am I cockroaching on your time ?' one cannot but notice the change that is taking place. No wonder that without proficiency either in the mother tongue or in English the young boys and girls perform poorly in school and college. It has been well established that language skills and mathematical skills are connected· One who is good in language is good in mathematics. One example will make it clear. New set theory is introduced as early as in the fifth standard. If a question is asked, 'Given 18 red and blue balls how does one go about dividing them into sets ?' This cannot be answered without resolving the linguistic ambiguity. If some are red and some are blue then they would become two sets, whereas if all are partially red and partially blue then they will be one set. In spite of all these, very little attention is given to the language education.

Witgenstein has said that all philosophy is language philosophy. Following him one can say that all education is language education. Beginning from the early concept formation and cognition to creativity, innovativeness, expression or concealment of thought, logical formulation of propositions, coherent presentation of discourses, in all facets of human existence language plays a crucial role. It is the medium as well as expression of culture. Yet the highest educational authority in the land finds language the most inconvenient subject to talk about. They talk of curriculum without reference to languege. They talk about science and technology curriculum forgetting that in absorbing the scientific culture it is not the new technical terminology or the lack of it that becomes in the way ; it is the inability to comprehend the concept underlying this terminology that blocks educational development.

Today, in the field of education the labels and slogans change and the old systems are condemned, but the same people continue in the leadership position. This is one of the reasons why education in general and teacher education in particular has remained static and unresponsive to the needs of a fast changing society. While the enemy within the system is engaged only in preserving its privilege base, the enemies outside contribute no less to its destruction. The insensitive bureaucracy which perpetuates uniformity as a matter of administrative convenience seeks alliance with the academic managers. As a result, when production of bureaucracts continue unabated, the teacher training schools and colleges are closed down. The teachers prefer to become bureaucrats whereas the bureaucrats pretend scholarship or aspire for it. This produces a sorry spectacle for education in the country. The political leadership is temporarily incapacitated by the combined thrust of the 'Education experts' and the 'Bureaucratic managers of education'.

The UNESCO meeting in Paris in December 1981 convened to discuss mother tongue as medium of instruction, of which I was elected Chairman, was unanimous among other things, in passing a resolution that language education should form a component of all teacher education. The framework of Teacher Education published by the NCERT does not show any awareness of this. The framework speaks of core and optional courses. But if regional culture should be optional for the region concerned as suggested, then the country will be irrevocably segmented. Unfortunately, there is not a single textbook of history even today which speaks of Indian people as a whole and of their composite culture. If Shivaji is lionised in Maharashtra and degraded in Bengal, if north Indian kings and their exploits are joined by similar empire buildrers from the south, national integration cannot be attained. History must speak also of the *Savaras* and *Kirātas* along with the Aryans and Dravidians and speak of the cultural universals resulting from their interaction. Today there is a great need for integration of courses to develop a synthesis. Indian teacher educators must work towards such a synthesis.

There was great excitement when we brought out an Indian edition of Edgar Faure Report 'Learning to Be'. The title itself was reason enough for great merriment. When I pointed out to a few friends that the word *vidyā* from *vid*- 'to know' and *vid*-'to exist' means Existence in Learning, or Learning is Being or Learning to Be or Being is to Learn, they resented saying that for once I had falled into the traps of antiquarians. For such of my friends modernity is rejection of Indianness. But they forget that a country bereft of tradition cannot become truly modern.

The challenge before the teacher educator today is manifold. He must fight the enemy within and the enemy without. He has to streamline the curriculum, modernise the methods and update the knowledge content in textbooks. He must not only integrate the courses but integrate the courses with life so that they become socially relevant. He is not only to set a model but become a model himself for the teachers who graduate through his hands. He cannot forget that he is a teacher and in order to justify this role he must continue to be a learner. Then only he will be the forerunner of a learning society. At a time when there is knowledge explosion, continued learning is the only guarantee against obsolescence.

Professional organisations of teachers and teacher educators have to take an active role in improving the competency of teachers. Ability to put the same point in different ways to suit the needs of students of differing competence in a class demands great communicational competence and consequently great facility in language. Teacher educators must address themselves to the question of handing over some of the tasks they are called upon to handle to general education. That will free them to concentrate on inter-disciplinary approaches which bear upon their discipline. They must draw upon the findings of psychology, linguistics, sociology and pedagogy in preparing curriculum for renewal. Eaucational planning in India, being sectoral, there are competing demands from higher and lower education and teacher education cutting across different sectors is handled differentially in different sectors. There is no wonder that teacher education in general and in lower stages in particular receives such little attention.

Our States and Union Territories have a great tradition in education and culture. They have always attracted great teachers. Each teacher is a teacher educator in the sense that he trains future teachers. With the development of teacher education as a separate discipline proliferation of teacher training institutions has taken place in the country. However, during the past years teacher training through correspondence has been introduced in some states. With the expansion of teacher education, great confusion has been created as adequate attention has not been given to qualitative aspects. A study of the school education in the state reveals that the teacher education syllabus has not kept up with the task of preparing competent teachers to handle school curriculum. The school curriculums themselves are under great strain as the vested interest in textbook writing creates further gap by not reflecting the intent of the curriculum. Under these circumstances one can only wish luck to the harassed teachers and teacher educators.

AN APPROACH TO THE CURRICULUM OF NON-FORMAL EDUCATION

Every kind of education, whether in the school or out of school, has some degree of formality and some degree of informality. Degrees of formality or lack of it in time, space, methods and materials, etc., parameters to define a particular system of education, can be analysis and conclusions reached about the characteristics of the system. However, the labels 'Formal, and 'Non-formal' education are good analytical tools and need to be clarified to avoid confusion.

Formal education is marked by three important characteristics.

(i) Formal education expects all children irrespective of their educational and social background to reach an educational goal in a single time scale. Whether a child comes from the forests of Bastar or from the metropolis of New Delhi he is expected to attain a certain level of education within the same specified time.

(ii) Formal education works on the basis of a rigid syllabus and prescribed textbooks. The syllabus is standardised for the mass of average students and the textbook rules the class room. More emphasis is given on teaching than on learning. The teaching often is that of the textbook than of the content subject.

(iii) Formal education works towards a degree. It decides the degree on the basis of a terminal examination which marks pass/fail. The examination is neither an index of intelligence, ability, achievement nor motivation. Whether acknowledged or not, the entire formal education is job oriented and vocational, though it is only oriented towards white collar jobs.

Non-formal education must break away from these constraints if it has to serve its purpose.

(i) It must build into the system a flexibility which will permit the learners to move at their own pace. It should be able to cater to the specialised needs of groups of learners.

(ii) Its syllabus must be flexible and need based. Need can be seen from the angle of both the consumer as well as the planner. The felt needs of the consumer and the needs of the community observed by qualified social scientists constitute the expressed needs of a community. The syllabus of non-formal education must be based on these expressed needs. Since these change with the changing social dynamics, mere textbooks will not be able to meet the demands of such a system.

(iii) Obtaining a Diploma or a Degree should be incidental to non-formal education. Non-formal education need not be a replica of the formal education and cater to the populist degree mania. It should offer courses in further education which are not degree oriented but leisure time education either to improve the quality of life or to provide specific skills to people who wish to improve their vocational standards. It should offer courses for operatives, apprentices, midwives and intending craftsmen; it should give courses on planned parenthood, horticulture, plant diseases and inflation.

The above list is illustrative and not exhaustive. From this it need not be construed that non-formal education is a stream for socio-economically handicapped. In fact, a linguist wishing to learn logic or cybernetics, an economist wanting to learn statistics or a physicist wishing to learn philosophy or music can take advantage of non-formal education. The emphasis, however, should be on those who have no access to education rather than on those who had some education but no access to higher education. The reason for this is to avoid the danger of the privileged having best of both the worlds of formal and non-formal education.

The formal education being elitist, by way of concession to the common man, puts a little work experience in education. This again is lip service as the managers of education have failed to evolve a strategy to give credit to the child who is engaged in productive activities out of school. They insist on his being engaged in some work experience activities which are by and large irrelevant to his/her life style at home. Non-formal education on the other hand must be work-centered education. It must weave educational programmes around work.

It must, however, be seen that educational components in non-formal education is not watered down as work experience has been watered down in formal education.

At this stage it is necessary to clarify the confusion existing between what is known as correspondence course and continuing education on the one hand and non-formal education on the other. In India all Institutes of Correspondence Course and

Continuing Education are engaged in extending the scope and accessibility of formal education. They are engaged in imparting degrees to those who for a variety of reasons could not reach the portals of university. This, no matter how important an institution, is anything but non-formal education.

Those seriously thinking about continuing education have to make up their mind as to whether primary interest is education or certification with or without instruction. If it is the former, then certain amount of flexibility can also be built into this system. Courses could be designed and offered to those who are academically ready for it without insisting on a degree or diploma as necessary qualification for entrance.

While because of the requirements of degrees and strata, formal education has to insist on levels of entry behaviour, non-formal education has to be prepared to take the given and plan for their further education. Therefore, the curriculum of the non-formal education has to be flexible, need based, motivating and motivated.

As the main purpose of non-formal education is to convey a host of multifaceted information of immediate relevance to the common man, induce critical thinking and generate group interaction among them with a view to establishing an egalitarian society, it poses a major problem in communication. This problem can be viewed from several angles out of which two need special attention.

(i) In a country like India which has 400 million illiterates constituting 50 per cent of the world illiterate population and about 400 languages with dialects, styles, registers and such other variations, languages is a major barrier of communication. Unless a clear strategy is adopted to reconcile the problems arising out of language use in local, regional and national levels on the one hand and informal and formal spoken and written on the other, this problem cannot be easily solved. The need for instant communication and long term planning for standardisation and integration must be kept in view while preparing non-formal education material.

(ii) In a country with as many diverse culture groups, with diverse socio-economic and regional variations as we have, no standardised learning package would work. For example, no matter how beneficial is irrigation, there is no point in talking about it to people who are engaged in dry farming. Similarly, no useful purpose would be served by talking about growing cash crops to a group which is predominantly a hunting and food gathering community and which rightly consider such activity as a means of exploitation by the urban communities. Thus it will be clear that communication may break if the content is irrelevant and incidental to the lives of people. Educators working in the area of non-formal education have to have a deep acquaintance with the profile of their audience and their strategies must be able to be adapted to the needs of the consumers.

There is more to adult language learning than merely learning a language in the conventional sense. It is not merely building up of emergency vocabulary and controlled communication through graded and guided structures to meet the immediate day to day needs nor is it the study of the history of language and literature concerned. It is not merely learning a device to express emotions and sentiments and to control behaviour. It is all these and yet something more. It involves (a) creating an objective need in the learner for using the language for complex intellectual operations; (b) creating the ability in him to articulate the intellectual process in the company of his fellow professionals and (c) creating the ability in him to comprehend the present, interpret the past and project the future through the use of language. Thus the learner must acquire competence to make appropriate responses in the varied social settings he is called upon to participate, fight the poverty of conceptual experience and test the relevance of any education he may have received through formal institutions. The learner must acquire the ability to question, to interpret, to hypothesise, and to express himself clearly. It is in this sense that language learning is a necessary condition of both academic success and success in life.

The importance of language use in non-formal education can be viewed from the angle of drop out, stagnation and wastage in the formal school system. The lack of understanding of the difficulties created by the difference in the home language/language of early childhood experience and the school language and consequently due to lack of any suitable strategy to transfer them to the school language, children particularly from the socio-economically backward communities fail; drop out of school and become a burden on the society. Non-formal education has a major responsibility for this category of learners.

Importance of language can be viewed from yet a different angle in the non-formal education. Communication here is not restricted to that of a reader to a writer or face to face interaction between a teacher and his class room. In other words as other than the printing press, the radio, the television and the film have to be pressed into service, the place of language in communication becomes more complex. In any case, whether the theme is earning a living and family economics, health, nutrition and family planning or civic responsibility, the major problem is to involve the learner. This involvement can be ensured only if the educator can establish rapport with the groups (not merely understand and be understood) and make himself a member of the group.

The methods and materials in the formal system are standardised and uniform. Since the planning is from the top the problems on the ground are seldom visible to the planner. Although almost 90 per cent of communication is verbal and the community is multilingual, even then the formal school is resistent to the preparation of material in languages of the learners or exploit their language for educational purposes. The non-formal educator has to be eclectic in approach and instead of the educator dishing out his own experience and knowledge draw the experience of the group out and build the material around it.

In teaching, reading and writing, the principles of patterned perception and contrastive observation can be used profitably in grouping letters. Vocabulary build up using the cumulative groups of letters can go on simultaneously. If the lead question approach is used to involve the learners in group interaction, then some of the replies could be used as literary captions. All these newer approaches are experiment to facilitate communication at different levels. In short, whether it is teaching numeracy or environment, providing supplementary information on sanitation, family planning or improved agriculture, unless the role of educator as communicator is appreciated, non-formal education is bound to degenerate. The pressure of the elitist education either to exploit it to its advantage or brand it as a separate stream for the handicapped already has created a good deal of confusion. Without proper appreciation of its role it might also wither because of the apathy of the consumer for whom it is designed and implemented by outsiders.

Non-formal education can grow with planning from the bottom. Integrated rural development and integrated education for the masses of people is almost sine qua non. Use of the language of the people to communicate, motivate and involve them is a key concept in this process. As these approaches challenge the existing attitudes, values and institutional framework, these are considerd subversive by the vested interest. However, the success of non-formal education depends on the clarity of purpose and resolve for action by those responsible for it.

A CURRICULUM FOR ADULT EDUCATION

Adult Education is human resources development. Human resources development is necessary so that people's affairs can be left in the people's hands. Take, for example, law. Because of the lack of awareness among the people about their rights, duties and opportunities, and because administration including administration of law is conducted in a language not accessible to the people, there was great dependence on law courts and lawyers. Ignorance of law resulted from ignorance of language and literacy. Litigation often resulted in the ruination of both the parties. The purpose of measures underlying the setting up of village panchayats was to reduce the dependence of people on the law courts. But, unfortunately, while this was generally accepted, no effort was made to reduce the production of lawyers. On the contrary, law schools went on multiplying and the production of a large body of lawyers built into the system the antithesis of delivering the legal care of people in their hands.

Prohibition can be taken as another example. While the social reformists give sermons about the harmfulness of drinking, the diehard economists point out the revenue accruing to the public exchequer from this source. Therefore, law against drinking continues to be passed while breweries continue to multiply. It may be that part of the money so accrued to the public exchequer is spent on providing succour to the families ruined by drinking. But this is like killing the neighbour's cow and, when he complains, presenting him with a pair of shoes made of the cowhide.

Economic resources planning divorced from human resources development results in a system which invests the affairs of people in the hands of managers, who are self-appointed through make-believe democratic procedures. The imperialists all over the world have prided themselves in developing the economic resources of underdeveloped countries. Even after their departure, the beneficiaries swear in the name of economic development and work vigorously to maintain the system. Both in the capitalist and the communist countries, one finds systems where the affairs of the people are run by a managerial class. The people everywhere need to be educated about education in all countries, irrespective of achievements of formal educational institutions.

In India, today, the scientific manpower is the third in the world. But this cannot be termed as human resources development. As exploitation of raw material in one country for being processed in and marketed by another cannot be termed as the economic development of that country, similarly creation of cheap exportable educated labour at great cost to the country cannot be called human resources development to the country concerned. Both in technology and education one must develop systems appropriate to one's need. One does not make or buy big caps, one gets caps that fit. Similarly a country does not ape big technology, it must have technology appropriate to its needs.

Education can be human resources development when it brings out the perfection inherent in a learner. The learner can thus contribute his mite to the society of which he is a member, while expecting the society to fulfil his needs. Societies built on capital intensive economy develop a pattern of life where profit is shared by a handful of individuals or by a set of managers appointed by the State. Where capital is scarce such an economy is bound to create greater inequalities. A country with surplus population must develop its manpower resources and create a labour intensive economy. Only then, can it expect full employment and establishment of a society based on distributive justice.

The Institutional education in a country like India has resulted in providing education only for a low percentage of the population. It is responsible, on the one hand, for the widening gap between a few well trained and millions of illiterates and, on the other, a large primary school enrolment and an equally large dropout, stagnation and wastage. It is inflexible, textbook-bound, non-competitive and largely irrelevant to the needs and aspirations of the society. Merely multiplying such schools is neither likely to ensure universalisation of education nor obliteration of adult illiteracy.

Thus it will be seen that adult education has a role different from the time and textbook-bound certified education imparted in the school. It is to make the adult learner aware of the factors which limit his opportunities of free development, thus enabling him to manage his own affairs. The alphabetic literacy, which is being most talked about in developing countries of Asia and Africa is only one of the means, however important it may be, for attaining this end.

In a country like India, the declining adult education is intimately connected with the declining autonomy of individuals and groups to manage their affairs. It is, therefore, important that the factors inhibiting literacy are examined with care.

The factors inhibiting literacy can be seen from different angles. If one takes into consideration the geographical factor one finds that the physical geography is responsible for disparate groups living in isolated areas. This is particularly true of the tribal population. Geographical factors which isolate one group from another also inhibit dispersion of linguistic elements facilitating standardisation. Thus geographical factors which restrict the scale of communication become a major contributing factor for illiteracy.

The linguistic factor is partly a consequence of the natural regions and partly of stratified society. Multiple languages divided into regional and social dialects, written and spoken, and formal and colloquial styles are a major deterrent to literacy, particularly when a foreign tongue enjoys the highest status in the society. Multiplicity of scripts adds a further dimension to this problem. The divergence of the language of education from the language of administration, on the one hand, and the language of mass communication, on the other, inhibits literacy. Bi- and Multi-lingualism pose serious challenges to the student of adult literacy. For the linguistic minorities there may at times be need for literacy in two languages.

The linguistic factor is intimately related to the cultural factor. The Indian languages belonging to four or more language families indicate the diverse ethnicity of the people speaking them. In fact maintainance of multilingulism in India to a large extent is due to the will to maintain distinct ethnic identity of groups. The history of the development of Indian languages show that when a language or a variety of language, which becomes prestigious because of its being the career of all knowledge, is confined to a minority upper strata, simplified spoken languages emerge. They act as sluices which carry the knowledge so confined to the people in India, where even in early times literacy was limited. There is a long tradition of oral transmission of knowledge ; social life and leadership was not linked with the ability to read and write. By and large the society which was illiterate was educated as a result of the oral transmission of the accumulated wisdom and there were even uneducated among the scribes, those who knew how to read and write.

The economic and political factors which brought about a near complete break with the past tradition have played a major role in the accentuation of illiteracy. It has even resulted in the blockade of natural communication between the literate educated and the illiterate, thus converting the large mass of illiterates into uneducated. Economically, with the British take-over of the country, the village self-sufficiency based on pursuits of agriculture and handicrafts, became the first casualty. With the imperialist policy trying to exploit the natural resources of the country and using them to the best interest of the British, very little was available for distribution among the local populace. With the scarce resources and growing demand, only the sectors favoured by the rulers got the better of it and it resulted in the inequal distribution of resources. The society was divided between the privileged few and the underprivileged many. The upper class interest in the stratified Indian society and the interest of the economically privileged became one and both conspired to perpetuate an elitist rule. This led to the policy of illiteracy and ignorance even though there was external allegiance to education by all concerned.

The political factor also aided illiteracy. The centralised civil service was meant for the British. But whatever little was opened up for the Indians required rigorous and prolonged preparation and was only accessible to the privileged. With the advent of the British all Hindu, Muslim and Sikh educational institutions which provided grass root level literacy and education closed down but the secular education began mainly through the missionaries in an alien tongue which further inhibited literacy. As through the thousand year old literacy tradition was nullified by this process. The alignment of the church and the State at this stage resulted in (a) a small group of Christians separated from the majority of Indians divided by the worship of many gods ; and (b) a small English knowing elite separated from the majority of Indians divided by the use of many tongues. This excessive learning on English naturally resulted in large scale illiteracy and limited education.

If adult education is to be attempted in a serious sense in the above background, then it will entail radical change of attitudes and existing educational programmes. Adult education can neither be effective through formal institutions nor would it succeed by institutionalising it. An adult literacy curriculum has to be built on the expressed needs of a community. The needs as felt by the Community and as observed by a trained social scientist together constitute the expressed need. To that extent adult education cannot be centrally directed and its curriculum cannot be uniform. However, the objectives need to be selled out and instead of trying to fit the objectives in a rigid time mould, time must be found for the attainment of the objectives. It is in this context that a core or minimum curriculum for adult education is suggested below. This may, however, be modified on the basis of experience of adult education workers.

A Core Minimum Curriculum

A core curriculum of Adult Education must have a component of spoken language. It is necessary for both problem sharing and culture sharing and forms a necessary condition for establishing rapport with the adult learners.

A. Dialogue with the target audience about their aspirations, attitudes, perceptions, priorities, problems and suggested solution.

Emphasis on causal relationship. For example, Fire, Flood, Exploitation, Molestation, etc., are not acts of God, but caused by natural phenomena.

I. Ability to comprehend spoken word :
   Lectures/Talks
   Discussions
   Radio
   Newspaper

II. Ability to make an oral presentation of grievances/needs.

B. Ability to interpret illustrations :

Picture of a known object—emphasis on writing/narrating. Picture of an unknown object—Emphasis on clarity of meaning/concept.

Superficiality of the play way—	(i) A Picture 'the cat taking pictures' created great confusion in the learners.
— of the illustration	(ii) hut in TV (Orissa experiment, where none could identify the hut which was taken out from a TV frame).

C. Recognition of symbols :

In isolation

In combination — Words, phrases and sentences.

Conventional arrangement

Symbols — their superfluity and inadequacy of sound-symbol fit.

i. Dictionary order

ii. Pictorial presentation : 'A' for apple.

iii. Key word presentation—

(mā ramā bara ramāra rabara)

iv. Sentence as the starting point—

(lālā tālā lā. lālā lā tālā lā)

v. Similarity of shape method :

Ecclectic in character. Can make use. of all the above approaches. Based on the principles of patterned perception and contrastive observation, this method moves speedily from recognition (reading) to manipulation of symbols (writing).

D. Ability to sign one's name.

E. Ability to read :

Why Read ?

1. To acquaint oneself with tradition
2. To satisfy curiousity
3. To obtain information
4. To acquire knowledge
5. To broaden outlook
6. To get an understanding of the relationship between immediate society, the country, and the world.
7. To develop critical thinking
8. To solve individual, social and cultural problems (including helping children at home in their studies).
9. To secure moral and spiritual guidance
10. To advance one's profession.

Materials

Simplified simple/complex materials are to be given to the neoliterate in a graded sequence.

Material suited to each of the above needs is to be chosen. An illustrative list is as follows :

Matters relating to health, sanitation, civic problems (Rights and Duties), political pamphlets, local newspapers, Governmental forms, notifications, road sign, simple job-specific material, *puraṇas*, fictional literature.

F. Ability to write :

Application to various District/State Authorities, Banks and FIR to Police.

Filling in different categories of forms —Money Order, Railway Reservation, etc.

Writing letters to near and dear relatives and friends. Simple narration of events and experiences.

G. To sum : Numbers and Numerals : The four operationas. (Relevant to one's job or interest).

Basic idea of decimal system.

Currency—Rupees and Paise.

Weights and Measures—Kilogram, Quintal and Ton.

Foot, Inch, Yard, Acre and Hectare.

Time—Hour, Minute and Second.

Days of the Week and months in a year.

Distance—Kilometer, Furlong and Mile.

Liquid—Litres.

H. Community Singing/Sports.

LINGUISTICS AND ADULT EDUCATION

Adult education in a multilingual country like India is the greatest challenge to the linguist. Faced with problems of instant communication to be linked up with the standardisation and modernisation of the languages, the linguist is called upon to develop a strategy of literacy which can steer through the maze of languages, dialects, styles, registers and such other varieties.

Most literacy workers have convinced themselves that the dialect has nothing to do with literacy. And yet when a farmer's literacy manual is written in *'Suddh Hindi'* (Chaste Hindi) in Delhi and is not accessible to a farmer in Rajasthan or in parts of Bihar, they do not know what to do about it. It is not as if a linguist can solve all the problems of literacy. After all there is the Mahaboobnagar experiment in Andhra Pradesh (Deshmukh 1967) where one of India's well known linguists was associated in a programme for producing instructional material in the dialect. But the result was unsatisfactory. By the end of the course, the learners could read (and write) Mahaboobnagar Telugu, but they could not read standard Telugu with facility. What, then, is the role of a linguist in an adult education programme ?

The Mahaboobnagar pragramme clearly shows that unless adult literacy is functionally defined and all steps from the curriculum formation through apperception to self-actualisation are well integrated, adult education is bound to be incomplete. Unless reading the dialect is linked with the reading of the standard by a switch over mechanism, this problem cannot be satisfactorily solved. It is not enough to identify the needs and-set the objectives, but it is necessary to structure experience through language in such a way that the competence in a language would be of a level which will not permit sliding back to illiteracy. Use of dialect in illiteracy is not an end in itself, but a means to attain necessary skills in the literary language in which sufficient reading material is available for him to maintain literacy.

Mahaboobnagar as well as similar experiences of the project run by the Council for Social Development, the Seva Mandir in Udaipur (Rajasthan), the Institute of Indian Education, Poona and the Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore go to indicate that whether it is for motivating or for ensuring the functionality of the programme, material senseitive to local language use is more effective for bringing the learners quickly to the threshold of literacy. But this is not enough. Constant bridging at all levels of language is necessary to relate the local to the standard, which invariably is the high status language. The problem of literacy in case of languages which have accepted another language as 'culture language' (Pattanayak 1977a) needs more serious attention. It is to be remembered that the purpose of literacy is not to develop the undeveloped languages and dialects, but develop the human potential through conscientisation. Therefore, a knowledge of language dynamics and language engineering becomes a must for a literacy worker in a developing country.

It is not as if the linguist can be eliminated if the problem of dialect is isolated. In a poona slum where the literacy worker asks the child *tujhe vadil kay kartat* and gets frustrated as the child does not understand, the problem is of a different order. Undaunted, the worker asks *tujha bap kā karto* and pat comes the reply *daru pito ani aila marto* 'drinks wine and beats mother'. This forcefully brings out the distance between the slum language and the standard spoken language, the problem of comprehension and the problem of status and attitude build into the language use. Linguists, who make it their business to study the structure of varieties of spoken and written languages in different domains, must be treated as indispensable allies of literacy workers to solve such problems.

In a meeting of the Scientific and Technical Terminology Commission, there was a discussion about the word for 'fishing rod'. Although many languages have the word '*bansi*', the pundits rejected it in favour of a more Sanskritised word '*akheta danda*'. Many people are in favour of such Sanskritisms without knowing their implication. The choice of a high culture word, whether Sanskritic or Perso-Arabic, determines the style of writing. Since this has serious consequences for literacy, it must be understood by the material producer. Take, for example, the Oriya word *nasika* and *nake* 'nose'. The choice of *nasika* will require *kuncana kariba* while *nake modiba* in the sense of disapproval. This not only is a problem in collocation, but the style of writing itself would be determined as a result of such choices. Hindi *danta cikitsa* and *dat ka ilaj* illustrate similar problems as the above.

Yet another dimension of the problem of language which has direct bearing on literacy is illustrated by the Tamil word which is written as *patam*, read as *padam* and spoken as *pado* or the Assamese word which is written as *citi bach* but read as *siti bas*. The language specific conventions of writing and reading need to be analysed and integrated in the literacy curriculum. The rules for moving either from the spoken to the written or from the written to the spoken have to be carefully worked out and graded before literacy texts are prepared.

Telugu, where most textbooks and much of the printed material was written in the Granthika style presents another formidable challenge to those engaged in adult education. In spite of the decision to effect a phased change over to the *Śiṣṭa vyavahārika*, the spoken standard style, the anomaly is bound to persist for some more time. The literacy workers even though working in a small homogeneous dialect area have to keep these broader aspects of language development in view· Otherwise devoid of the continuing flow of reading material which is likely to be available in the standard language for years to come, the neo-literates are bound to lapse into illiteracy.

Linguistic minorities pose a major problem to the literacy worker. In many cases people are to be made literate in two languages, the mother tongue and the dominant language. The linguists must stretch their ingenuity to develop the strategy of transfer, thus making it feasible to run simultaneous literacy in the home language and the dominant language wherever possible (Pattanayak 1977). Of course, those of the dominant language speakers who are minorities in another dominant language area may have to be made literate in either one or both the languages according to their choice. Facilities may be provided for this purpose. The West Bengal Committee for Eradication of illiteracy, for instance, has taken commendable steps in this regard. But very little research and experiment has gone in to making the other minorities literate.

Another peculiar problem is posed by linguistic minority communities who use a pidginised varieties of a language as contact language. The most important among these is the pidgin Naga, which is popularly known as Nagamese. This variety is not only a bridge among the mutually unintelligible Naga language speakers, but also a bridge between the various tribal language speakers and Assamese speakers. No literacy effort in this area can ignore the existence of this variety. The various tribal language speakers in the Koraput District of Orissa use Desia as a communication language in this manner. Similarly those in and around Ranchi in Bihar use Sadri or Sadni. Desia is a variety of Oriya and Sadri is a variety of Hindi. To what extent these intermediate languages can be exploited for furthering literacy has to be examined very carefully.

Problem of Santhali somewhat parallels the situation obtaining in the case of Konkani speakers. The Konkani speakers are spread in Goa, Maharashtra, Karnataka and Kerala. The Konkani language is written in four scripts, the Nagari, Kannada, Malayalam and the Roman script. The Santhalis are mainly distributed in Orissa, Bengal and Bihar, though there are few thousands in Assam. The language consequently is written in five scripts, Nagari, Bengali, Oriya, Roman and the Ol scripts. The last is an indigenously developed script by one Raghunatha Murmu, himself a Santhali. Since the matter of script is an emotionally surcharged problem and the adoption of one or the other has many wider implications, literacy workers would do well to inform themselves about various aspects of this question with the help of linguists who have worked in these areas.

The above list is illustrative of challenges which literacy workers are likely to face. The various efforts at script and spelling reforms pose constantly renewed problems which need watching by trained linguists and their implications spelled out for the literacy workers. However, it is not only in the area of mere language analysis that a linguist is relevant to a literacy programme. In the area of material production three major operations are envisaged in the years to come. Apart from writing materials which would presuppose language analysis, it is visualised that there will be need for translating and simplifying manuals and reading materials written by specialists.

Many international agencies are called upon to send specialists to prepare manuals are either designed for village level workers in health and education or for voluntary organizations engaged in extension work. As the knowledge of English of the workers themselves is minimal, the texts need to be simplified. Take for example an instruction from a manual (v.1 : 101) prepared by the Ministry of Health. "Schedule domiciliary visits to new acceptors of condoms at least once during the first two months and every six months after they have become regular users". This sentence has so many variables that for a person educated up to SSLC level it is difficult to comprehend it in one reading. Even after reading several times the chances of confusion cannot entirely be ruled out. Texts such as these need to be simplified. However the question is not as simple as it sounds at the first instance. How the simplification of an agreement between the governments of UK and Rhodesia assumed different nuances in the hands of government writers (Cripwell 1975 Aug.) goes to prove that a lot of expertise has to be brought to bear upon the problem. In Indian languages where prestige is often attached to the high style, texts have to be simplified to guide the inexperienced reader through graded steps into becoming an efficient reader. Here a parallel may be drawn with preparing textual material for purposes of second language learning. As in the case of learning a second language the learner is first introduced to situationally and structurally graded material and slowly through the simple language used for native speaker he is guided to progress to greater complexities, in this case simplified language for neoliterate inexperienced reader slowly moves through simple language to greater complexities. Needless to say that the help of a linguist is essential in this operation.

Translations will have to be resoited to, as, for sometimes to come, the experts will writ in English. Even if some good reading material is published in one Indian language it may have to be translated into other Indian languages. Translation is one of the most neglected fields in the country. Without going into the details of discussion regarding linguistics and translation (Pattanayak 1966-67; 57-63), it may suffice to point out that with languages belonging to four language families and many languages of doubtful affiliation, almost all structural and semantic complexities of translation one is likely to find in the tour of the world can be illustrated by Indian languages. Fourteen languages as medium of higher education, administration and mass communication should indicate the extent of translation needed in the country. Apart from the problem of vocabulary, the presence or absence of verbs in equational sentences, passive and gender concord, the different modes of relativisation, the differing case relations are few of the important areas which pose obvious problems in translation. What is important to understand in this connection is that a research base has to be created in all these areas if functional adult education is to be achieved in a meaningful way.

The preparation of instructional material is not independent of the curriculum and philosophy underlying adult education in any country. Lyra Srinivasan (1977) speaks of four curriculum models. The four models, the Information model, the Problem solving model, the Projective model and the Expressive, the Creative or the Self-actualising model, from a continuum on the basis of maximal and minimal role of a teacher. Each model will dictate its own material and teacher preparatian. For example, when people speak in terms of textbooks and supplementary readers their thinking is essentially of the information model. The system in which the teacher engages himself in a one way communication of information where the textbook dominates the class, where education is not relevant to the important segments of living of the adult learner is incompatible with adult education. External incentives and pursuations may result in external allegiance to a programme but it cannot generate the necessary emotional and intellectual precondition for adult education.

The conventional thinking on the subject makes a distinction between adult literacy and adulteducation. Thus in a curriculum of 350 hours,90-100 hours are given for literacy. This represents a grossdistortion and misunderstanding of both literacy and education. First of all it must be understood that language is not taught in a vacuum. Unlessthe content of the language instructional material is closely knit with the needs and insterests of the learners this itself may act as the greatest disincentive for them. Therefore, taking structures like *lala tala la, lala la, tala la,* selected on an ad hoc and random basis, and trying to generalise it for all groups of learners may not be the most efficient introduction of literacy.

Many perfer to use the primer prepared for native children for initial literacy. This thinking does not take into consideration the special psychological problem of an adult who either feels deprived, because of being bypassed by the school or has a low self-image, because of being a drop-out. He certainly resents when treated as a child. Secondly, a primer is a unit of formal schooling where it is structured differently with the curriculum. Thirdly, even the primers themselves are often not even properly designed for the children. For example, the first seventeen pages of the current Marathi primer contains mostly imperatives. Under these circumstances, no matter how convenient it is for the administrator from the point of sale of material, this is not the proper answer to adult education.

The knowledge sought to be imparted in an adult education situation must be need specific and the medium of communication location specific. This would indicate diversification of instructional material. But even accepting this diversity as basis, to what extent the initial material can be generialised needs to be studied more throughly and scientifically. So far only assertaions of various literacy workers for and against such claims are available. For example, when one claims that the same literacy manual is being used for small and marginal farmers, industrial and mining workers, urban service workers, workers in different trades, tribals, scheduled caste groups and women it has to be examined a little more carefully and should not be taken at the face value.

Literacy to be functional, language must be well integrated with content. If the aim of adult education is to impart a level of competence to the learner so that he can sustain his interest on his own without lapsing into illiteracy, then it is not enough to give a mere recognition and manipulation of scripts, reading of controlled texts and writing letters to the grand child about one's health and the village fair. The adult learner must be made a competent reader with understanding of fairly complex structures so that he can read newspapers and make sense of various governmental forms and notifications. Very little research has gone into the officialise language of our country. The forms and notifications, even in English in many countries, are written in a language which need simplification in order to be accessible to the English knowing public (Wright 1975 : 213-220). Many of our forms and notifications, which are not originally drafted in Indian languages, but are translations from English, are not even comprehended by highly educated native speakers. Therefore, it must be understood that both the content and language must be graded to carry the learner through successive skills while maintaining their relevance and creativity. This presupposes a team work in which a linguist is an indispensable component.

When we think of adult education, often, it is considered to be connected with writing and reading. Since every body speaks a language, spoken activity is completely ignored in the scheme of things. It must not be forgotten that India has a 2000 year old tradition of oral transmission of knowledge. In any case through dialogue it is not only possible to establish a personal bond between the teacher and the learners, but also lay the foundation of problem sharing and culture sharing. Very little research has been conducted about the structure of oral presentation in the formal class room, the radio and under more non-formal conditions. The research conducted by the Coimbatore Agriculture University (Sudarsanam 1975) tend to indicate that there is more similarity in the structure of the class room presentation and the presentation by the Radio. This may be because, the radio presentation is first written and then read. The linking of the oral structures to reading and writing must also engage the attention of linguists.

A question is often asked about testing those who pass through adult literacy programmes. In such situation the word 'assessment' should be used to include besides testing, such observation techniques as rating and interviews, class performance records, job records and evaluation of the total learning outcome to reflect developmental changes. This also requires formulation of the goals of literacy in a more meaningful manner. Functional literacy in terms of UNESCO norms was considered to be equivalent to education of the level of class V. But in the circumstances where the emphasis is on non-formality the specification of goals has to be spelled out in terms of skills, learner's confidence level creative interpretations of a stimulus, problem solving ability, etc. This is the only way to ensure fairness of assessment of both individuals and groups in a pluralistic society.

Terms such as motivators, animators, facilitators are being freely used in connection with adult education. Following the Indian tradition in this regard, some have even suggested a three-tier organisation where a motivator is the programme in-charge whereas the facilitator is the teacher. Those in-charge of adult education must ensure that the new lables are not used to either maintain status quo or smuggle in the formal class room authoritarianism. Malcolm Knowles developing the concept of Androgogy (Knowles 1971) describes it as the art and science of helping adults to learn. Androgogy has also been termed as 'A technology of Involvement'. This involvement on the part of both organisers and learners is crucial to the success of an adult education programme. This is the biggest challenge before the educationists and linguists of this country today.

TEACHING OF SCRIPT TO ADULT LEARNERS

In India, emphasis has always been put on the well-formedness of writing. There is no doubt that a good handwriting is as important in writing as a good pronunciation in speech. But, in India, script has assumed a mystico-religious significance. As a result well-formed writing is almost religiously pursued as a goal. Moreover, the diverse media used for writing favoured a clear, well-formed writing; rather than a cursive writing for easy execution and comprehension. Perhaps because of this overriding consideration for well-formedness and the inter-related mystico-religious significance attached to script systems, the traditional method of teaching writing at an early age is uncritically used for second language teaching even today. It is not realised that, in case of the mother tongue learner, the child has already mastered the minimum mechanics of the language before he starts to learn writing. It is little appreciated that writing in a second language context cannot just be taught at a certain age grade without relevance to the preparation of the child as is usually done today. When there is so much ignorance about the stage, age and manner in which the child is to be taught reading and writing, it is no wonder that there is verv little scientific inquiry into the teaching of reading and writing to an adult.

In the teaching of indian scripts to adults, very little attention was given to pattern-perception based on the similarity in the shape of the letters. As in the case of the children, the adults are taught the alphabet in its traditional arrangement. They are taught to learn to write the letters with meticulous care. Even now, script is never taught as a language-related topic. It is seldom realized that script is a secondary representation of language (i.e., speech) and need be taught as the co-relation of sounds with symbols. On the other hand it is often assumed that the audio-lingual facility will somehow automatically follow the facility to manipulate these symbols.

In 1953, Miss Lambert made an attempt to study the Davanagari script from the point of its use by five of the Indian languages. The book, *Introduction to the Davanagari Script for Students of Sanskrit*, *Hindi*, *Marathi*, *Gujarati and Bengali*, is biased towards the extension of Sir William Jones' attempt of presenting 'The Orthography of Asiatic Words in Roman Letters'. While Miss Lambert makes use of her linguistic insight in her analysis "in order to give a fuller understanding of the special nature of the scripts and adjustments which are made in Sanskrit system in order to use it for writing the modern languages of northern India", she has also hoped that this will be an aid to students for learning to write the script concerned. She has, under calligraphy of the Sanskrit section, exemplified the order of writing the strokes in characters. But no indication is given about the direction of the hand movement. This is a relatively sophisticated work to be used more by teachers and advanced students, rather than by the beginning students.

It was in 1965 that the American Institute of Indian Studies made an effort to exploit the similarity of shape of Devanagari characters in teaching the Hindi script. About the same time, Dr. P. B. Pandit had utilized the similarity of shape of letters in teaching Devanagari script to adults. In a textbook entitled '*Naya Savera*' published by the Literacy House, Lucknow, Dr. Pandit presented the Devanagari script not in its traditional arrangements, but arranged on a basis of unstructured similarity. There was a basic difference among linguists and psychologists working in this field in India. While in the American Institute of Indian Studies, we presented groups of letters simliar in shape in pairs and in a set, the other group objected to it on the ground that this may create more confusion in the mind of the learner. Their contention was that symbols which are similar in shape should be sufficiently spaced so as to avoid confusion. This stand only paid lip service to the pattern-perception hypothesis, while, in practice, it in no way, improved upon the traditional arrangement of the alphabet, which did not consciously take into account the similarity of shape of the letters.

The Central Hindi Institute in Agra instituted a programme about April, 1967 to explore the easiest way to teach the Devanagari script. It suffered from severe handicaps from the very beginning, as the goals were not properly defined. For instance, it was not clearly stated whether the resultant book would be a graphemic analysis of the Devanagari script, a teacher's handbook, a reading and writing manual for children, or a similar manual for the adults. An attempt was made to dissolve all the Devanagari characters into five or so ultimate components, the various combinations and permutations of which would produce different characters. A further attempt was made to classify the letters from the point of view of their similarity of shape. The direction of hand-movement was indicated by arrows after the place of the component in a letter was shown by the help of lines and dots. Some of the results of this study may conveniently be used for devising a preliminary hand-writing book in which pattern practices may be given to the children. This may also contribute towards a more rigorous classification of the letters in terms of their shape. But unfortunately no attempt has been made to classify the Devanagari script according to their structure in terms of the ultimate components. In short, while it may act as a teacher's handbook in some ways, as a teaching manual, it will have little use either for the children or the adults.

The American Institute of Indian Studies's effort in teaching script using pattern perception and contrastive presentation was carried on two levels. A Programmed Introduction to the Reading and Writing of Oriya script was prepared for the self instruction of students, while the Devanagari script continued to be taught in the class-room during the past three years. The teaching of script followed the teaching of sounds and it was pointed out that the script was a mere symbol representing one or more sounds as क्ष, ज्ञ, etc. Sets of letters similar in shape written on the blackboard to emphasize the similarity in their shape and the differences which kept them apart. Words, which were used to teach sounds, which in turn were selected from the conversation being taught simultaneously, were used as far as possible to illustrate these letters in writing. This provided additional reinforcement for learning and by reducing the burden of unfamiliarity facilitated the recognition of the letters. It is important to emphasize one of the underlying assumptions of this presentation. It was intended to emphasise on the recognition of script and increase the speed in the reading before it was attempted to orient the students to writing. Once the students knew to recognize all the letters and their eyes were sufficiently conditioned to the direction of movement, the arrangement followed in the dictionary was given to them. Each letter was written with arrow indication to point out the direction of hand-movement, so that they could practice writing at leisure. It was found out that following this procedure, it was possible to teach the reading of the Devanagari script within six to ten hours, while the writing needed a little more time.

So far, most pattern-perception study is attempted on the basis of unstructured similarity. Very few structured scheme based on internal grammar of script has been attempted. While active interest "in the area of graphic data based conversation program" has led to the preparation of sophisticated picture-processing models abroad, in India, Professor Narasimhan of the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay, has worked in the area of syntax-directed interpretation of classes of pictures. Mainly designed for computer consumption, it is difficult to see at the moment to what extent this would be of immediate pedagogical relevance in the Indian class-rooms. It may, for instance, provide confirmation to the classifications based on subjective visual evaluation. In any case, anyone interested in the teaching of script has to keep his eyes open to any research bearing relevance to the entire field.

READING, LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

Bacon, in the essay 'Of studies' writes 'Reading maketh a full man; conference maketh a ready man; writing maketh an exact man'. Reading, intelligent conversation, and attention and comprehension are seen, for centuries, as preconditions of refined man. .In the present age of explosion of knowledge and information, accelerated reading with comprehension has almost become *sine qua non* with an efficient man.

Reading is essentially a language related process of communication — unlike the oral communication which moves from the speaker to the hearer, in the case of reading, the communication is from the writer to the reader. Since speech is evanescent, writing provides for displaced communication. In modern times voice recording permits of displaced communication but this being essentially a speaker-to-hearer communication qualitatively different from writing and reading.

Both writing and reading presuppose oral mastering of sounds and speech events in a language. Even if one is acquainted with the phonemic and graphemic inventories in a language in isolation, without the knowledge of phonemic-graphemic fit one is greatly handicapped in reading. French - *fille*, English-*Psycho*, Hindi-*Kahnā*, Assamese - *ciṭibāch* or Tamil-*pāṭam* will be difficult to read without knowledge of phonemic-graphemic fit in the respective languages. As there is no one-to-one correspondence between sounds, units and letters in any natural language, it is important to know how different sounds are represented by one letter and different letters represent one sound. It is necessary to stress here that even if several languages are written using a single script, their values may be different in different languages. Thus *j* is *j* in English, *h* in Spanish, and *y* in German; similarly Sanskrit *jn* is *dny* in Marathi, *gn* in Hindi and *gya* in Oriya. The value of English *a* is different in words like *fat*, *fate*, *fast*, *fall* is different as much as the English *a* is expressed in spellings like *fall*, *fought*, *form*, etc. The divergence in English spellings and pronunciation is somewhat exaggerated in the comment, 'Englishmen may write *ghoti* and read it as 'fish'; as *gh* in 'rough', *o* in 'women', and *ti* in 'station', will give the appropriate sound value for such reading. Two points have clearly emerged from this discussion: (1) Phonemic-graphemic fit has to be studied in terms of each language structure; and (2) as there is no phoneme across language, there could be no interlingual phonemic-graphemic fit.

Both the mother tongue teacher who is entrusted with teaching initial reading and writing and the second language teacher who is called upon to effect an early 'transfer' of skills are blissfully unaware of all these dimensions of reading. They are unaware of the phonetic considerations inherent in the traditional ordering of the alphabet as well as of the pedagogic presentation in terms of shape similarity. As a result they let the learner fumble through the alphabet.

Vocabulary is a major factor in developing facility in reading and writing. The 500 most commonly used English words have 14,000 meanings listed in the Oxford English Dictionary. It is not enough to recognize a word in isolation in its most common meaning, it is important to know its use in context. One of the reasons of poor reading ability is the lack of emphasis on vocabulary acquisition.

As the phonetic space in different languages is filled differently by similar or different sounds, the semantic space is also organized equally differently. For example, the Semantic space occupied by *Namaste* or *Namaskara* in an Indian language is filled by 'Good morning', 'Good day', 'Good afternoon', 'Good evening', 'Good night', 'How do you do', 'Hi','Hallo', and 'Good bye', etc. Reading is facilitated to the extent one is familiar with the contextual and cultural meaning of words. It is not sufficient to know the isolated meaning of the *tu. tum, ap, ja, jao* and *jaiye* in Hindi. It is also not enough to know the grammatical rule combining *tuja, tum jao* aud *ap jaiye.* Without knowing the social context of their use one may be handicapped. For example, *tuja* used for a senior, a person of higher status, may indicate insult. Similarly, *ap jao* may either refer to a non-standard usage or a parent-child communication in certain conditions. Good reading presupposes good command over all aspects of the language.

When one says one is re-reading Shakespeare. it is with a view to increasing one's command of vocabulary and through it a better grasp of the dramatic situation. When King Lear speaks of himself as a 'fond foolish old man', the meaning of 'fond' may have escaped the reader in the first reading. On a careful second reading one may find that the word 'fond' is used in the meaning 'foolish' and this gives a better insight to the understanding of Shakespearean time and his characters. While reading, one is not only confronted with the problem of historical meaning but also with cultural complexity in current usage. Thus if one is not familiar with the cultural import of items like *jhutha*, *sindur* and *pān*, then one is bound to be slowed down. In the use of vocabulary there are also other dimensions which a good reader must be aware of —collocation is one such area. Assuming that language X has pairs of words such as *pani*, *jal*, and *dat*, *danta*, one must be able to anticipate their usage and the elements to follow. For example, while in Hindi one would say *pinekā pāni*, 'drinking water', one would say *ganga jal* 'Ganges water' (to indicate sacredness) and while one would say *danta cikitsā* using somewhat high style. given *dat* one would expect *dāt kā ilāj* in a spoken colloquial style. The better one controls vocabulary in language in all its sociocultural nuances and its usage in different linguistic contexts, it will be seen from the above examples, that one is likely to be a better reader.

It would be stating the obvious to say that one does neither speak nor read mere words. Reading letter by letter or word by word is inefficient reading as they stand as a barrier to the expression of completed sense. Since the aim of both oral and written expression is to communicate, the sentence is to be accepted as the unit of discourse. Thus it will be clear by now that phonic method, alphabetic method, syllabic method, word method,sentence method or story method is inadequate by itself. First of all, the first three of the above methods have no reference to meaning. Secondly, no one of these methods is adequate to teach reading to children, adults, bright, slow, dialect speakers and the speech handicapped. An eclectic method which combines different approaches to reach the stated goal of communication most efficiently in the least possible time is to be sought.

Punctuation is relatively new to Indian languages. In the olden days whole discourses were written without a comma or a full stop. What intonation is to the spoken language, punctuation is to the written. 'What do you have for dinner mother ?' 'What do you have for dinner, mother ?' would mean two different things. It need not be pointed out that the second sentence is absurd. How wrong punctuation can change meaning can be seen from the following Bengali hoarding:

Ekhāna prisṭā kariben. nā krile pancās ṭākā jorimānā.

The full stop was intended to be given after *nā*, but by mistake, it was put before the word and conveyed exactly the opposite of what was intended. It must however, be understood that whether it was in olden days or in the present time people did and do use linguistic cues such as positioning of verbs, collocational restrictions, etc., for purposes of reading with comprehension without reference to punctuation.

Another aspect of the reading situation needs attention here. Tradition has made textbook a master in the classroom. The teacher concerns himself to get the children to read textbooks, where reading is confined to the verballeves. Transmutation of the book knowledge to be part of one's living experience is lacking in the process. A Reader instead of giving practice to the child of elements already learnt, acts as something to be read without any reference either to the formal structure and content or to the home language experience. In the absence of any material other than the textbook to be read and in face of the conviction that there is everything in the textbook, the teacher remains firmly rooted to the prescribed textbook and the whole purpose of language learning is frustrated. In one of my exploratory trips in Jenu Kuruba areas of Karnataka, children of Classes II, III and IV when asked to read a page from their Kannada textbook in turn asked whether they should read with the books open or books closed. When asked to read with the book closed, the child went on reciting the page. They said that they had 'byhearted' all the pages. In ancient times there was great emphasis on memorisation and memory training as word of mouth was the only means of transmitting texts in the absence of faculty of reproduction of written texts and their wider distribution. That in the present time when printing has revolutionised communication, the teachers would equate memorisation with reading is strange. Such experiences are common almost in all parts of the country and stand as examples of faulty primary education.

Reading also presupposes compatibility between the variety of language known and the variety of language read. This is particularly a problem for those whose home language is different from the school language. Research has shown that black English speakers in America when confronted with English material written primarily in standard white American English tend to ignore features not present in their variety. In India the speakers of dialects, while reading material in the standard language, tend to bring in dialect features at the time of initial reading. The most well known example of diverse reading is provided by Chinese, where any written material is read diversely by different dialect speakers following their own norm. It will thus be seen that the problem of compatibility has been sought to be resolved either by forcing the standard without reference to immediate developmental and communicational problems or by maintaining unity through the written symbol in the face of diversity of spoken forms. Both of these have their educational problem. What is being argued here is a conscious bilingual bidialectal transfer model for those whose home language is different from the school language, which will exploit the resources of their home language, ensure instant communication, and will ensure a smooth transition to the standard without creating an identity crisis.

Very little research has been conducted in India about aspects of reading. Although Kannada is read from right to left and Urdu from left to right and there is a sizable population reading both the languages in Karnataka, very little information is available about the difficulty encountered by them. It is also not known to what extent the reversal of eye movement affects the speed of reading. There are no national studies giving silent *vs.* oral reading indices for various levels of education. There is no training to eliminate vocalisation, subvocalisation, body movement and such other factors which are barriers to accelerated reading. In a multilingual country like India, reading competence in a number of supplementary languages will be needed. Efficient reading in the first language can make a person a good reader in other languages. However, unless language curriculums are modified to teach languages on a scientific basis and reading as a skill is emhpasized, the purposes for which languages are taught and learnt are not likely to be attained.

WORKING SCHOOLS FOR WORKERS

Workers on the organized sector have very few incentives and many heavy disincentives for seeking help with literacy difficulties. Literacy evaluation of a worker is seldom linked with evaluation of work efficiency nor the worker's role in cooperative development. Patronage and subsidy to the workers' education including literacy is not seen by the worker as organically linked with the work ethics of the firm or with its role as a responsible citizen. On the contrary, voluntary revelation of their difficulty in reading, writing or spelling, is likely not only to lead a loss of face with the fellow workers, but to greater exploitation and threat of loss of work. Therefore,workers education must cater to the personal circumstances of workers and must be closely associated with their education and training for work.

Adults with literacy difficulties are in the main doing manual or unskilled work. They being below their potential, the normal system does not cater to their needs. The management which at times provides for vocational training or retaining is interested in the worker completing a set course. It is, therefore, essential that all vocational and industrial training institutions have a literacy wing and literacy become a compulsory component of further education and training. The dichotomy between education and training marginalizes the disadvantaged. Unless employers, trade unions, educationists and trainers recognise that literacy is a prerequisite of vocational education and training, the artificial dichotomy will continue and the working adults will not fulfil their potential as workers and be effective in their jobs.

It is important to emphasize the integration of different programme structures of workers education with recurrent systems of education. It is not an easy task. The child labour in skilled areas as carpet weaving, the women labour employed for tea or coffee picking or making incense sticks, the adult illiterate labour in an unskilled job or as a trade union worker have different needs. In all urban centres workers are drawn from different linguistic, ethnic and religious backgrounds and often do not even see their role as member of a responsible work force. Their education seldom give them introduction to the development perspective of the country or cooperative development strategies in management and citizenry.

There are educational theories which treat the child as a social and the learner's mind as an empty bucket to be filled with the wisdom of the teacher. As Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi rightly points out, "we cannot bring in the institutionalized learning at the cost of destroying the intelligence and the wisdom that are already in our people. We must preserve them and together with them bring in institutionalized learning, bring in literacy which will help our people from being gullible, being exploited. It liberates them from servitude". This is a challenge to all those who produce material for literacy and education for workers, children as well as adults.

India's massive adult education programme has many spectacular achievements to its credit. But its Achilles heel is the fact that it is run without reference to the language of the learners. That literacy is primarily a language problem, that language is the medium of education and training has been forgotten by the adult educators. Since everybody speaks a language, it is taken for granted that everyone is competent to speak about it.

One of the major tasks before us is the evaluation of all books used by Sramik Vidyapeeths round the country. Evaluation is a job for specialists. Institutions such as Central Institute of Indian Languages, which is the greatest repository of research and application in the fields of languages, linguistics and evaluation should be formally associated to avoid the tardiness in implementation. How can the Prime Minister's directive to forge many linkages be implemented if we do not shed the old habit of working in isolation?

The Institute of Applied Language Sciences has just completed evaluation of books prepared by the NCERT in 11 Indian languages funded by the UNICEF. About 35 specialists worked for about a year which has resulted in the production of a Handbook useful for material producers, teachers, teacher trainers and evaluators. Similar books will be ready for each of the languages. Such work should be the model for subsequent work.

CONTINUING EDUCATION : A NEW LOOK

Education in India is one of the cultural factors in the elite in the making. In a stratified society, where people look to the top for guidance, and where elite sets social norms to be emulated, there is no wonder that education will be at the apex of social values. Rank, status and wealth are consequent to education. In other words, the educated, however small be their number, form the upper crust of Indian society. Therefore, when people blame education for failures—political, economic and moral, there is nothing to be surprised about it.

Community-based Education

About 46 per cent of the total population in the country are below the poverty line and 70 per cent of the population is illiterate. The present institutional education offers little for the amelioration of the lot of the common man on either of the two counts. Educational planners offer more of the same thing in spite of the slogan of academic revolution. In fact, it is a strange spectacle that those who were the managers of education during the last quarter century are most vocal in denouncing the system and crying for a revolution.

Education and Social Relevance

Institutionalized education has been serving the need of a microscopic minority. This minority is formed out of the upper class and the upper middle class of the society. Even the lower middle class, not to speak of peasants and workers, does not have full access to higher education. Under these circumstances one would not be far from right if one questions the social relevance of education. The educated elite has degenerated into a hereditary aristocracy only incidentally catering to the needs of the community at large. On the other hand, the large bulk of the students from the lower strata of the society, who aspire admission into this new class get estranged from their social base. In consequence the gulf between the social needs and what education can offer to meet these needs keeps on widening. The content of education has failed either to improve the quality of living or to provide an ideal to strive for. The educated and the highly educated, therefore, are qualified only for white collar jobs and the contradiction in the attitude of educational planners towards vocationalisation of education persists. There is no wonder that one simultaneously find the demand for 'end of schooling' and anxiety for more schooling.

Extension of the Existing pattern

Lately Where is a good deal of discussion about the open university, continuing education, correspondence courses and the like. Unfortunately, all such courses, wherever they have been experimentally started, have followed the usual university pattern. All of them are replicas of the conventional universities catering to the populist Degree mania. None of the correspondence courses or continuing education units have offered a course in further education which is not Degree oriented, but a leisure time education either to improve the quality of life or to provide a specific skill to a person who wishes to undertake such a course. There is no course available for operatives, apprentices or intending craftsmen. There is no course to acquaint on with the problems of parenthood; there is not one even to make somebody a better clerk. The omnibus dependence on the degrees for giving generalised and specialised orientation, even though has been proved wrong, still is resorted to.

Present day educational institutions have become both a battle-ground and a negotiating table between the generations. In spite of the many differences among the generations, both are saturated with achievement ethics. In this sense, the demand for student participation in the decision making process of the educational system is an expression of the achievement orientation which the educated youth subcultures have borrowed from their elders. The elder managers, unable to cope with the changing times, find an escape in the continuing education. For them continuing education is certification with least botheration. It is also in most cases considered to be self paying education and consequently considered as liberal charity without investment.

A New Look

Those seriously thinking about continuing education have to make up their mind as to whether their primary interest is education or certification without instruction. If it is the former, then courses should be designed and offered to those who are academically ready for it without insisting on a Degree as necessary qualification for entrance. The central aim of education should then be learning and not teaching; instructions must be for creating abilities to meet the challenges of life and not merely for certification. It is well-known that drop-out is a major problem at all stages of education. None of the educational institutions address themselves to this problem. By accepting the academically ready and not insisting on formal degree as a prerequisite, not only the portals of education could be kept open for all those interested in it, and all those who need mid career training, but also the problem of drop-outs could be tackled meaningfully. Here is also an opportunity to experiment on the separation of the functions of education and certification. While one group of teachers could be engaged in producing instructional material another group of teachers could be employed for examination and certification. This way quality of both instruction and certification could be improved.

In height, depth as well as breadth, current education is yesterday's education. It instructs one in things past but does not prepare one for meeting the future. The only justification for continuing education in this country could be given if it comes out of institutional constraints, meet the young and the old on the highway of life, and provide them with a purpose, a vocation, and an ideal. If it continues to replicate the existing university order, then, it will only have a label without content.

III

LANGUAGE EDUCATION AND CULTURE

CULTURE FOR SOCIETIES

Two dominant paradigms view the world from different perspectives. From the perspective of dominant monolingualism multiplicity is inconvenient, uneconomic, burdensome and a handicap. Planning must aim at reducing the number of languages, religions, ethnicities and even the people. In its logical extension it leads to uniformity in thinking, behaviour and cultural expression. The pluralistic model survives through an approach of complementation and respect for the different. This requires a cultural rootedness on the part of the individual and self imposed austerity on the part of groups. The western laissez-faire democracy emphasizes rights. The traditional Indian society emphasizes duties. In fact recently the Indian Constitution was amended to add a section on duties. Both are not exclusive. Rights entail duties and duties entail rights. Over emphasis on one makes people underperceive the other. If we forget that one's freedom to move one's hand is circumscribed by the proximity of the nose of the other then it is bound to bring ruination to both.

No matter what one does, it is impossible to get rid of majority and minority. It is like playing a game with 15 dots in a board with 16 squares. If justifications are sought in terms of majority right, then the logic of the argument would lead to total annihilation of humanity. Take for example, India. In the State of Karnataka 64 per cent of the population speak Kannada as their mother tongue and 36 per cent speak a language other than Kannada as their mother tongue. If the right of these 36 per cent are ignored and the majority language is imposed, then the Kannadigas who form 4 per cent of the total population of he country could also be ignored at the national level. This argument can be carried to the international arena with devastating effects.

In the name of language planning languages are planned out. Standardisation is not considered a range, but a point. Language pedagogy of the first generation learners, and the socially handicapped has not received the attention of socio-linguistics. The language of religious communication is important for the whole world. And yet this has been totally ignored. In India 99 per cent of the population has returned one or the other religion. No linguist has taken up any research. 2/3rd of the world communicate orally. We have very little by the way of comparative study of oral and written codes and the impact of one or the other made on the social processes.

Both majorities and minorities have the same language right, the right to access to languages of information, knowledge, education, administration including administration of justice and mass communication. They must have the language of access to their cultural past and coping ability to deal with the unknown and uncertain future. It is only when such rights are usurped whether by a majority or dominant minority that conflict arises. For example, in Bolivia the 95 per cent Guarani speakers are colonised by the Spanish, in Jammu and Kashmir in India the majority Kashmiri language speakers are subjected to administration through Urdu and all over the countries having a colonial past, the dominant minority colonial languages wield greater power than all the languages taken together in their respective countries.

The search for egalitarianism is not the prerogative of the Blacks and the Browns. The Blacks, the Browns, the Yellows and the Whites must join hands if an egalitarian society is to be ushered in. Abraham Lincoln once said "I don't want to be a master as I don't want to be a slave. It is time that the exploiters and the exploited take a pledge that we don't want to be exploiters and we don't want to be exploited. The present life style of the exploiters cannot continue for long when large mass of humanity is not only below the poverty line but remains culturally underperceived".

The first world contains in itself the third world, as the third contains the first. This accentuates and magnifies differences.

Only voluntary austerity on the part of those engaged in conspicuous consumption can ensure a peaceful transition from inequality to equality. Language, then only will be a tool of conviviality and creative expression. Language processes then will be ally of social processes.

SOCIOLINGUISTIC CULTURE

In the multilingual, multi-ethnic countries like India, the need for sociolinguistics can hardly be underestimated. Language variations in social and regional axes, through mutual isolation and interaction constantly reshape individual and social identities, which in turn have their impact on the environment of planning. Moreover, language use in education, administration and mass communication can fundamentally alter the character of the polity and thus influence the orientation and affect the foundation of planning itself. Sociolinguistics and the role of linguists in developing countries has to be viewed in this perspective.

Two hundred years of imperialist rule resulted in the creation of an elitist society in India where less than 4 per cent of the population enjoy the rank, status and wealth bestowed by English education. The large majority of people were alienated from the ruling group by the use of a language in administration which was not accessible to them. Since audience in India is devided by language use, the use of English as the major language of mass media alienated the large majority of people from those privileged rulers, whether they were aliens or their countrymen. Thus the foundation of a society governed by the elites for their benefit in the name of the masses was complete.

The thirty years after independence have seen a different kind of isolation and fragmentation. In spite of lip service to Indian languages, English education is still very much the preferred education. Wherever Indian languages have been adopted as languages of education and languages of administration, without proper linkages at different levels and stages, small islands have been created, separating dialects from languages and one language from another. Even within a single language the use of middle class language as the standard has left many, whose languages are different, disadvantaged. The mass media which swears by the spoken word, uses it for the entertainments of non-users of these languages. No serious effort is made to make the Indian languages vehicles of knowledge, to define the domains of various languages and dialects and to use these with a view to ensuring people-oriented multilingual planning.

Under such circumstances, the role of a practitioner of sociolinguistics can only be that of a catalyst and a rebel. It is strange but true that all new revolutions are quickly adopted by the people in positions of power and translated into new slogans. These slogans provide them the necessary cloack to go about their work in the age old manner for their own purpose. Thus, those who were in charge of education for the last two or three decades and are responsible for establishing and nurturing the formal educational structure leading to an elitist society, suddenly have become votaries of non-formal and mass education. Mass education demands instant communication of knowledge to the masses. The masses of people being identified in groups in terms of language use, a rational policy decision must be implemented linking the twin problems of instant communication and the process of standardization and modernization in the country. Whether it is learning to be, writing a pedagogy of the oppressed or establishing deschooling society, the planning orientation cries for a distinctive change and a linguist committed to his/her profession is called upon to provide the leardership.

At a time when learners coming from families where there was no formal education for generations is pointed out to be the reason for falling standards, when learning to write a petition for supplying clean drinking water, improved seeds and fertilizers and a homestead for those who have none is considered indulging in antisocial if not antinational activities, there is no wonder that a sociolinguist has to fight his lone battle. He is to raise his voice against the forces both inside and outside who are bent upon sabotaging from within the proposals put forward by the leardership. The linguist must expose this combine and help the radicalisation of education. Father Ferrer called true education as subversive. It is subversive of the vested interest, of thc elitist structure and a restrictive society. True education must ensure total freedom and equality of opportunity to all sectors of people as regards the accessibility to knowledge is concerned. It must ensure putting that knowledge to use for improving the quality of individual as well as corporate life.

The linguists in the country, however, are neither prepared nor preparing themselves for such a role. Inter-disciplinary subjects such as sociolinguistics, psychc-linguistics are not fields for incompetent linguists, sociologists and psychologists. In fact a lot of what goes under the name sociolinguistics is nothing but linguistics. If sociolinguistics is pursued merely as a fashion in the same manner as the generative transformational linguistics, then in spite of all the goodwill it is bound to fail to deliver the goods. I would, therefore, urge universities and institutions in the country to train their people well before making claims to achievements in the areas of applied linguistics in general and sociolinguistics in particular.

A good example of how our training lacks relevance to the Indian context may be seen from issues like the three-language formula, adult education and primary education. It is sad to see that even Ph.D.s in Indian languages and linguistics are not fully conversant with the import of the three-language formula. The three-language formula does not set up an upper limit to language learning. It is a consensus which highlights the need to blend the local, the national and the international and seeks to promote a culturally integrative policy. It is a launching pad for the exploration of the micro, mezzo and macro dimensions of language use and cultural synthesis.

It needs a linguist to delineate the methods, materials and the media for teaching mother tongue, second language and the foreign language. But our children, who even today are asked to study mother tongue English and the mother tongue as a mirror image of second language English do not have even the vaguest idea of such distinctions. Fed with ancient and medieval literature taught in a perfunctory manner and starved of functional conceptual prose, the children in schools and colleges fail to manipulate their mother tongue for expressing themselves in any field of study. For language and linguistic scholars are aware of the ramifications of such a situation.

The deficiency at the higher stages is the cumulative effect of bad language teaching at earlier stages. It must be admitted that without proper understanding of the problems relating to language use neither the problems of primary education nor adult literacy can be solved. India has 400 million adult literates accounting for 50 per cent of the total world illiterate population. But this problem cannot be solved unless primary education is universalised and stagnation and wastage is plugged. With 70 per cent drop out, stagnation by the end of the 5th standard, the primary education is the greatest contributor to adult illiteracy.

If one critically examines the cause of drop out and stagnation, difference between the home language and school language and lack of an academic strategey to move from one to the other in a smooth way loom large as causes. Yet neither the planners, the teacher educators nor the teachers have thought it fit to tackle the problem. Some of them, in their blind allegiance to English and in the mistaken notion that a language is better taught if it is taught for a longer duration have even pleaded for primary education through English. These pseudo-educators forget that in the absence of trained teachers, improved techniques of teaching and scientifically graded textual materials, if a language is merely taught for a longer duration it will create more learning problems than solving them. In States like Karnataka and A.P. where there are approximately 2500 secondary schools and 40,000 primary schools each, introduction of English below the 5th standard (and say from the 3rd standard) will require training of almost one lakh teachers in each case for which there is neither expertise nor resources in the country. Whether it is mother tongue, second language or foreign language instruction when the simple differences among teaching a language, teaching about a language and teaching through a language have not percolated even to the level of teacher educators, one can imagine the colossal challenges confronting a linguist. Thus, whether it is teaching language as a subject, teaching subjects through a language, designing a bilingual curriculum for, those whose home language is different from the school language or designing improved methods and materials for teachers and teacher educators, there is greatest need for trained linguists with Indian orientation and social commitment. Our universities and training institutions must go beyond teaching the meta-language of the disciplines concerned and inculcate a problem solving orientation in the students. A healthy partnership between universities and institutes engaged in practical work will go a long way both in training and employment of the trained personnel. Institutions engaged in research and textbook production, located in close proximity to Centres of Linguistic Research shall take the leadership in this direction, so that a community of scholarship by bringing together leading practitioners in the field of sociolinguistics can be created to meet the colossal challenges before us.

LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND SCIENCE

Jawaharlal Nehru in defining culture once said, all that includes is culture and all that excludes is non-culture. The historical patterns and the socially valued characteristics that shape the lives of the people and hold them together could then be considered as culture. These patterns and traditions are cumulative in nature, and they stimulate, intrude, interrupt and impede the socialisation process of human beings. Whether it is creativity in literature, arts and architecture or in speculative philosophy, whether it is the conceptualisation, formulation and solution of various scientific and technological issues and problems, culture provides the general framework for their development.

Science is dynamic. Its development is intimately connected with the development of the society. Unless scientists constantly renovate their consciousness in terms of the life styles of the population constituting a society, its development is bound to be irrelevant to the large majority of people.

Science and technology determine the nature of economy. They hold the key to the production of wealth. In fact, the history of technology is almost coterminous with the history of material wealth. Therefore, the access to, management, control, and product of science and technology all assume great importance. The attitude towards material wealth, human values and social organization embedded in the cultural milieu of a community may clash with the values generated by the new economy emerging with the expansion of scientific and technological base of the country, and, thus, act as a factor preventing its application for development.

The nature of economy also determines the nature of scientific and technological development. In Europe, for example, in the transformation of agriculture, there was a substantial reduction in the use of manpower for agricultural operations over a period of years. During the 18th-19th centuries the required labour force which consumed 80 per cent of the product was reduced as a result of mechanisation to a level so as to consume a mere 5 per cent by the mid-20th century (Bernal 1963 : 100). Science and technology blindly so used are bound to create devastating effects in the more populou developing countries of Asia and Africa, where the problems is one of human resources planning rather than labour saving, capital intensive economic planning.

Accentuation of production of material wealth through the application of science and technology not commensurate with human resources engineering is bound to divide communities into privileged and underprevileged categories. The division of the world into developed and developing is one such manifestation. Today the per capita saving available for investment for the production of more wealth in the developed industrial countries is more than the per capita spending on everything in the pre-industrial developing countries. Even within a developing country, the relative gap between the highly developed sector, the beneficiary of science and technology, and the underdeveloped sector is as immense as between countries. Benefits of science and technology tend to acrue to the privileged. As this accentuates class difference, societies which were stratified on different principles or where no stratification existed become naturally antagonistic to the application of science and technology.

The planner and the scientist in any society is always confronted with choices regarding priorities (Blackett 1963 : 47-64 and Powell 1963 : 85-112). Whether to explore and use the natural resources or to use the human resources, whether to spend money for present development or divert it for investment for the future, whether to allocate funds for the youth programmes or provide social security for the old, whether to develop nuclear capability for development or to divert resources for combating infant mortality, whether to plan for scientific and technical manpower or to wipe out illiteracy and provide minimum education to the maximum number are questions which confront them. The priority of the consumer may be different from that of the planner. In a Mysore village where drinking water is not available and has to be fetched from a distance, the rural development agencies put first priority to the supply of tap water. But the village thought that the renovation of a gymnasium which was in dilapidated condition should receive first priority. Their argument was that if people are given minimum opportunity for exercising and keeping healthy and fit, then they can take care of the problem of fetching water from the nearby well. They will not only be sure of the quality of water this way, but will not have to depend on outside agencies for such a vital need as water.

In conditions of elitist control of the society there is invariably a communication gap between the rulers and the ruled. If such a society is multilingual, then, communication problems become more acute. If one of the language varieties receiving elite patronage becomes the medium of education, administration and mass communication, then, it not only creates handicap for groups speaking other varieties or other languages, it is bound to create communication barriers at different levels. Not only economic planning, science and technology also thus, get divorced from their cultural roots. Unless bi-directional communication is established between scientists and technologists on the one hand, and the large majority of common men on the other, application of science and techology for the greatest good of the greatest number can never be achieved.

The large bulk of human communication is verbal communication. Language is both an expression of culture as well as a vehicle of cultural transmission. It is both a cause and an index of social and cultural change. The inter-dependence of language with social and cultural structures has been acknowledged by all social scientists. By expanding or contracting the communication network, language plays a key role in defining the nature of culture itself. The constant restructuring of the society which takes place as a result of addition of new knowledge, if not properly comprehended, interpreted, and transmitted, may create and reinforce an elitist culture which is characterised by a limited class beneficiary of the resultant socio-economic and cultural development.

In the early phase of development, science dealt with laws. But, later, formulation of laws changed the concepts themselves. In fact, it is acknowledged by almost all scientists that formulation of concepts are as important, if not more, as formulation of laws. Concept formation is intimately connected with language competence. The development of science over the past hundreds of years has brought us to a situation where the scientist is no longer sure about the nature of the scientific investigations, the layman is not sure whether he is asking the right questions and getting the right answers and the person interested in the expression of scientific concepts is not sure whether he has reached the limits of language. This apparently contradictory situation arises out of the fact that scientists believe that they are investigating the structure of the universe whereas the universe does not have one single structure. Each person makes his own approximation of the universe and each successive approximation is as valid as the other. As many reputed scientists point out in their writings (Bridgman 1959 and Conant 1962 : 15-28), through the course of the achievements of science, a contradiction has developed between deductions from various hypotheses and experiments. As a result, two diametrically opposite views about the nature of a scientific phenomenon could be both rejected and confirmed at the same time. Conant has referred to the contradictions between the caloric theory of heat and the concept that heat was associated with the motion of particles. Similarly, the theory that light is a wave phenomenon superceded the earlier notion that light was corpuscular, a stream of bullets. Further, new experiments proved, which could be summarised by saying, that light is emitted and received as though it consisted of a stream of particles and that it is transmitted as though it were a set of waves. Contradictions in theories and experiments go to prove that this world is a world of ideas and that their internal relations are relations between abstract concepts. When we talk of advances in science, we are really concerned with a break in the continuity of a line of argumentation. Because of situations like these, both questions asked and answers given are unsatisfactory. As language aids concept formation as well as expresses concepts, it plays a crucial role in hypothesis formation, explanation and dissemination of scientific concepts. When this association ossifies so that language becomes a mere formula, either because the concept has changed or the language has changed, then, communication either breaks or becomes a ritual. Unalterable associations are signs of a fanatic. As the line of argumentation is broken because of discrepancy between hypothesis and experimentation, it becomes essential that both scientists and laymen develop a flexibility of mind to readjust themselves to the new scientific situation.

As Susan Langer points out, "Question and answer, assertion and denial, denotation and description — these are the basic uses of language" (Langer 1964). If questions like 'is light wave or particles' are no longer considered appropriate by the scientist, if it is difficult to either assert or deny a specific structure of universe, it is not because we have reached the limits of language, but because inflexibility of thought and language use has reached almost the dead end. As Herbert J. Muller rightly points out, in the conditions of "complexity, relativity, multiplicity, flux" that science has presented before us, it has become imperative that we develop a "lithe, sinuous, atheletic type of mind" (Muller 1962 : 29). The development of such a mind capable of constant readjustment is as much dependent on language and culture which set up their own constraints as the nature of scientific investigation, the nature of the tools, and the nature of things approximating the structure of universe.

Individuals and groups draw a sense of identity and rootedness from the language they use. Furthermore, the structure of social relationship in non-literate societies, transmitting their values orally, is quite different from that in literate societies which record events and thus distinguish between myth and history. With accelerated and technological related changes, the chances of acute social dislocation increase. Although differences and even conflicts in ideas among different cultures might result in the advancement of knowledge, dissensions within a single culture zone carries the potentiality of disintegration. Unless there is uniformity of communication providing for the results of scientific experiments being independently tested, the universal base necessary for scientific development is not likely to flourish.

An educational system is a creature of a particular historical setting and cultural background and, in turn, it creates and moulds the historical setting, thus creating new cultural tensions. Since education provides access to science and technology, the question often asked is : if the education system does not relate to the needs of the people of a country as a whole, how far its products, science and technology, will be relevant ? In the populous developing countries of Asia and Africa, education has created a new class. This class of privileged elites enjoy the rank, status, wealth and other benefits conferred by education, and they appropriate to themselves the power of decision-making in matters relating to the state. Thus, science and technology and its products, identified with the interests of a minority, is considered largely irrelevant by the community at large.

The structure of education in developing countries in general and India in particular, inhibits any balancing of primary, secondary, and higher education. For example, while India has the third largest scientific manpower in the world, it also houses 400 million illiterates, 50 per cent of the total world illiterate population. Not to speak of adult illiterates, it has not been possible to create opportunities for primary and secondary level learning for the eligible young. The scientific personnel trained in urban institutions, ignorant of, and indifferent to, the life style rooted in their own culture, become largely irrelevant to their own milieu and act as cheap labour for the developed countries. According to a study by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, every Indian engineer emigrating abroad means a loss of about Rs. 2.56 lakhs (US 32000 dollars), every emigrating arts, science or commerce graduate costs Rs. 1.36 lakhs (US 17000 dollars) and each doctor Rs. 3.52 lakhs (US 44000 dollars). Based on these calculations, the report estimates that contribution made by India to the US economy in 1970 through the supply of skilled man power was 697.6 crores (US 874.5 million dollars). The contribution of developing countries as a whole that year was 2929.6 crores (US 3662 million dollars). This reveals the irrelevance of present higher education to the developing countries and the subtle exploitation of these countries by the developed countries. If the application of science and technology bypasses the large majority of people, as it has done so far, then, it is bound to destroy itself along with the society it is designed to serve.

There are many wrong notions prevalent about the developing societies. It is taken for granted that an illiterate person is uneducated, and uneducated persons are unscientific, if not anti-scientific in their attitude. It is neither necessarily true nor need it be so. The Punjab farmers' response to technology in agriculture, the diffusion of transistors in the remotest parts of India and to the lowest strata of Indian society, and the response of the people to the Satellite Television, in spite of its many limitations, would belie such notions.

It should now be clear that the application of science and technology in a specific social context is dependent largely on two factors, the cultural milieu in which it is placed and which it is called to serve, and the milieu it creates as a result of its application. Two aspects of the problem, the physical accessibility and conceptual accessibility of science and technology and their products to the common man, have to be taken into consideration in this context. If the smallest tractor in India costs Rs. 30,000/- or more, or the most efficient scooter costs Rs. 10,000/- or more, it is certainly not physically accessible to the common man. If the concepts change so fast that the practitioners cannot cope with them, or, if the language use in these domains does not keep the audience in view as a result that the communication becomes restricted to a small group, then, it is conceptually inaccessible. The society at large is thus excluded and science and technology remain non-culture. Expanding the scale of communication in a manner that scientific knowledge is evenly diffused in a multilingual country is a precondition for the removal of constraints on the path of wider application of science and technology.

LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL POLICY

Language and culture are intimately related, as language is both a vehicle for and an expression of culture. Indeed, language is a basic element in all human group activity and thus too broad and encompassing a phenomenon to be understood adequately by the limited techniques within any single discipline. Though language is as much a cause as an index of social and cultural change, by considering it omnipresent in society, one can lose sight both of its role in society and its casual influence on social behaviour. No wonder most social scientists have failed to take due notice of the interdependence of language with social and cultural structures.

Language has the potential for integrating as well as separating people. In societies based on exploitation, the vested interests often use it to promote civil strife. In colonies, dependencies, and countries under international "spheres of influence", language has very often been used to further the interests of privileged groups. In British India, Indian languages were passed over in favour of English, allegedly for administrative convenience. Wealth, rank, and status were attendant on Englishe ducation, and the British successfully used language differences to divide and rule. Hence, our elitist education and mass illiteracy.

Language is the key for transforming an elitist culture into a mass culture, for it is crucial in expanding or contracting the communication network. Thus it influences the implementation of any decisions concerning socio-economic change which would necessarily restructure the patterns of individual and group interaction. Consequently, the beneficiaries of the status quo would naturally oppose any radical change in language use. However, the use and development of language cannot be controlled by a few institutes academies. Ivan Illich correctly says that "not a draft into specialised institution, but only the mobilisation of the whole population can lead to popular culture" (Illich 1971).

Individuals and groups draw a sense of identity and rootedness from the language they use. Furthermore, the structure of social relationships in non-literate societies, transmitting their values orally, is quite different from that in literate societies, transmitting their values which record events and thus distinguish between myth any history. With accelerated technological and related changes, the chances of acute social dislocation increase. History has shown time and again that language identity can arouse emotions of such depth that people lose their rationality and often become violent. Given such explosive potential, it is necessary to take bold action to integrate speakers of different languages without hurting their attachment to particular languages.

Culture is transmitted both formally and informally, and language, important both for expression and comprehension, is by far the most important tool for cultural transmission. Hence, the importance of language education. Yet language teaching is one of the most neglected areas in India. There is no awareness of the difference between teaching a language, teaching about a language, and teaching through a language. Goals of language teaching are seldom defined, and consequently no serious thought is given to the methods, materials and media of instruction. 52 per cent of the total study time in schools is devoted to language instruction without commensurate results. Both educationists and politicians talk about language "load" in schools. Yet they do not realize that, for most people, language is only a means of acquiring new knowledge or an additional facility. Not understanding these fundamental issues, we fail to avail of the numerous opportunities which come our way. To liberate education from these constraints, we must realize that by providing a language choice we can resolve the minorities' identity crisis. By focusing on language use it is possible to relate the social effects of art to its artistic merit and thus elevate the cultural level of the masses. By language engineering it is possible to widen the scales of communication and to reduce factors which divide and stratify the population.

In his famous talk at the Yenan Forum on Art and Literature, Mao Tse-tung raised the question of the "audience" for art and literature. He said that the failure of the artists and the writers to grasp the people's living idiom was responsible for the distortion of standpoint, culture content, and art forms in all artistic creation. Bernstein, the famous English sociolinguist, has concluded that all educational failures are essentially linguistic failures. Since we have failed to appreciate the pervasive importance of language, we have also failed to cope with the persistent high illiteracy, stagnation, and waste in primary education, the large scale failures in secondary and higher education, and the continuing dominance of a middle class oriented elitist culture.

In social evaluation some features of a language are prestigious and others stigmatized. This evaluation correlates with that of various social features, and together these stratify the speakers of any language. Different varieties of speech, whether dialects or languages, become acceptable and acquire prestige because of their usefulness in particular contexts. Therefore, in a multilingual society, the language planner's tasks are to help the processes of language standardization, and to initiate such measures as would motivate a citizen to choose, for any particular communication need, one language out of the many he uses at different times. This can be achieved by promoting *selective bilingualism* at different levels. In the Indian situation the bilingualism has to turn around the language of the minority group and the dominant regional language, the latter and Hindi, and Hindi and English, leading to *balanced multilingualism*. Such a strategy alone can reduce the language variation to manageable proportions and lead to national consolidation.

It has been suggested that such multilingual planning would isolate regional elites intellectually. By definition, anyone in the elite category must share at least one language of intellection with the elites elsewhere : the question of elite isolation is a non-issue. The real isolation of the Indian elite is from the masses, as in the distance between the 4 per cent English-knowledge elite—with the rank, status, and wealth which accrue from English education — and the rest of the people ; between the *Sadhu Bhasha* and *Calit Bhasha* users of all the dominant languages ; between the stigmatized and prestigious varieties of languages, with prestige linked to high caste, higher education, and a good standard of living. It is this gap that needs to be bridged. By using regional languages for education and administration, the masses of people would be able to participate effectively and consciously in the governance of the country and thus to achieve the socialist economic goals within a framework of participatory democracy.

A three-language formula, along the lines indicated above, is likely to meet the communication needs within the country and also to provide a language for communication with the international elite or a large section thereof, enabling us to share the wealth of knowledge with the scholarly community, to participate in international commerce, and to further good neighbourliness as far as possible. Thus, it is only through meticulous language planning that culture can be rescued from the stranglehold of the middle class elite.

In India, today, almost all significant art forms are created and utilised by the middle and the upper classes for their own entertainment. Most new experiments in literature, music, drama, and other art forms are oriented towards the urban middle class. No effort is made to make the arts a "campaign of enlightenment" for the masses. Even when folk forms are adopted, these are merely diversions for urban audiences. Very little "high culture" reaches the people. Art forms portraying the life of the weaker sections of society are tolerated. These arouse pity and pseudo-sympathy and may even be extolled for political reasons. I know of powerful novel in a regional language which has effectively caught the idiom and the rhythm of tribal life, but it was not considered for a national award on the ground that, since it dealt with tribal life, it was not universal enough. Any new cultural policy formulation must face these anachronisms, break sharply with past practices, and give art and culture a mass orientation. Trying to understand the idiom of the common man is the first step towards it.

CULTURE AS BATTLE OF WORDS : SURVIVAL OF MULTILINGUALISM

A human child is born into three spheres of inter-connectedness, the social, the environmental, and the cosmic. It learns its relationship with the environment and the cosmos. All these relationships are rule governed. Learning the rules underlying the relationships and activities around it is a time consuming matter. No wonder that the human child has longest period of socialisation among the living beings.

The inter-connectedness finds expression in different ways in the monolingual and multilingual words. In the former, it is seen as an adversary relation with nature and a relation of domination and subordination in society. It is based on the affirmation of ego. In the multicultural, multilingual world the relationship with nature is one of balanced coexistence. Both the hymns of the Rig Vedic Aryan and the earliest black men, dedicated to the elements, speak of living in their terms. These societies through extended families, kinship and putative extension of these ties have a relationship of interdependence and complementation. This is based on the sublimation of the ego.

A human child is born with genetic memory. The child also is born with a learnt memory which is intra-somatic, and externally stored memory which is extra-somatic. The child's capacity to learn, coupled with what it learns from sensory encounter with the immediate eco-culture, propel the learning child to go to the outside world and learn from the library and the external world.

The interconnectedness and the memories form the cultural matrix of a child. Naming or labelling is the first expression of cognition. Through labelling, one not only shares experiences with some, but also separates from others. This is an act of identity. Through this, the world becomes a lived experience, and a constant comparison is effected with what is observed in oneself with what is observed in others. The philosophico-religious social traditions are modified and reinterpreted in the light of one's lived experience and one grows up as a well rounded social being. If, however, the tradition is at variance with the lived experience,. cognitive imbalance takes place. Take, for example, the use of English as the language of primary socialisation and primary learning for a non-English mother tongue child in India. The home language has words for trees and creepers, grasses and greens, fruits and flowers, shades of colour, birds and beasts, and the ever changing moods of nature. None of these are available in English either at home or in school. Therefore, this acts as the first base of cultural alienation. The Indian kinship terms are three dimensional and they, being expressive of extended relations, build a sense of inter-connectedness in the social network which are neutralised by the English kinship terms. This leads to cultural anomie. The myths and symbolisms of a culture cannot be transmitted through the norms of another language. Painting, Dancing, Architecture and such other forms of cultural expressions become alien to the growing child and it develops cultural perception blind spots. All these transmit a value which pushes the child towards a metropolis outside immediate culture and as one grows in "sophistication", one tends to accept a metropolis outside the country, in an English mother tongue region. Thus it will be seen that it is the higher level competence in the second/foreign language which substitutes initial mother tongue education that results in semilingualism and semiculturalism.

The respresentation of the world at any historical time may be regarded as consisting of not only layers of geological ages, but layers of ideas leading to contemporary culture. Its apprehension are articulated in languages. It is this articulation which makes the animal human. Only the homo loquen becomes homo sapien. The homo sapien is born into a tower of babel, where a language binds and many languages free from the confines of social groups and indicate the universality of humanity. If the home language is muted by suppression or substitution or it is denigrated in its own home, the concept formation, creativity and innovativeness suffer and the universality expressed through many realities remains a distorted vision.

Affirmation, denial or disputation, culture is a battle of words. Unlike the animal kingdom where physical strength determines the survival of the fittest, culture is *being* and *becoming*. The western culture emphasizes the manipulation of being "*est etre qui engendre especes*" (the world is what you make it is - Jeures) and seeks the affirmation of being in the duality of *I* and *you*, *right* and *wrong*, *here* and *hereafter*. The Indian philosophers have emphasized the transcendence of being and the unity of being and becoming. Thus the metaphysical and physical merge into a single quest. If the western culture speaks of *man is*, Indian culture speaks of *is man*, according a priority to *is*, *etre*, as prior to the coming of man there was being. It is in this fundamental sense that culture is a battle of words.

That man is born equal has become a cliche. Man is born equal only in the meta-physical sense of undifferentiated being preceding. Once man is born into the world of memories and inter-connectedness, he is born inequal. Establishment of egalitarianism in an essentially unequal world is the second sense in which cultures represent battles of words. All theories, whether of physical sciences, or of social sciences, thus become instruments of such battles and have enabling qualities for the proponents and disabling effect on the opponents. For example, when Herodotus identified ethnic groups in the Near East almost 2500 years ago, by implication he referred to groups in the fringe of Byzantine or Near Eastern empires. By definition, the ruling majority was not ethnic. Only minorities, refugees, manual guest workers, people coming in train of conquests were marked as ethinc groups. The contemporary world having converted socially neutral categories into socially marked groups is enmeshed in the same conflict.

Language, being fundamental to human existence, is a fundamental human right. Every human being has the right to have free access to the languages which transmit accumulated human knowledge and experience. To control and dictate the language of access is an act of positive discrimination and positive suppression of human talent. It deprives individuals and societies of free choice, curbs creativity and innovativeness and restricts freedom. Imposing restrictions of language choice is a dictatorial act which threatens the very being of a pluralistic world. The sense of belonging world are related. Full realisation of one is impossible without the other. Any manipulation of language which restricts participation or potential participation in all the three spheres imposes limits on freedom and threatens not only the existence of a pluralist nation, but the humanity itself which is plural in its manifestation.

War and conversion are two mechanisms used to consolidate power, and create larger aggregates to affirm collective ego. Both aim at repainting the past, annihilating cultures, capturing and reshaping the inner minds of peoples in their own image and destroying their souls. There rarely comes a moment in history when violence of war is sought to be resisted by non-violence of the spirit and conversion is sought to be resisted by affirming the respect for the different. The Kalinga war in India, where a people resisted an empire builder, leading to the death of a million people and detention and destitution of one and a half million, resulted in the light of the Buddha spreading all over the world. The Gandhian non-violence movement challenging another empire has been a source of strength for the struggles of the Blacks and the Browns, the tribals, and the socially and culturally under-privileged all around the world. Thus it will be seen that there are those who propagate a single path to human salvation, be it Communism or Capitalism, Christianity or Islam, English or Chinese. There are thousands of small groups, less organized, less visible but equally numerous believing in the freedom of each culture pursuing its own path, but under constant threat of loss of identity.

War and conversion are justified in the name of one world. The picture of such a world was predicted by Orwell in his *Brave New World* in 1984 where under unassailable status quo only one standard in behaviour, attitude, activity and thought was permitted, uniformly were the slogans under which the haves seek to convert the have-nots into never-to-haves, and those dissenting marginalised and kept below the line of subsistence. It is under these circumstances that battle of words have substituted wars and so much energy and effort is spent to control human communication. Since different languages are different ways of perceiving and expressing reality, it is important for those believing in war and conversion to destroy many languages and many cultures whose existence fundamentally question their ideology.

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